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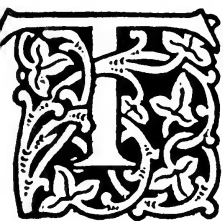


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James
Henry
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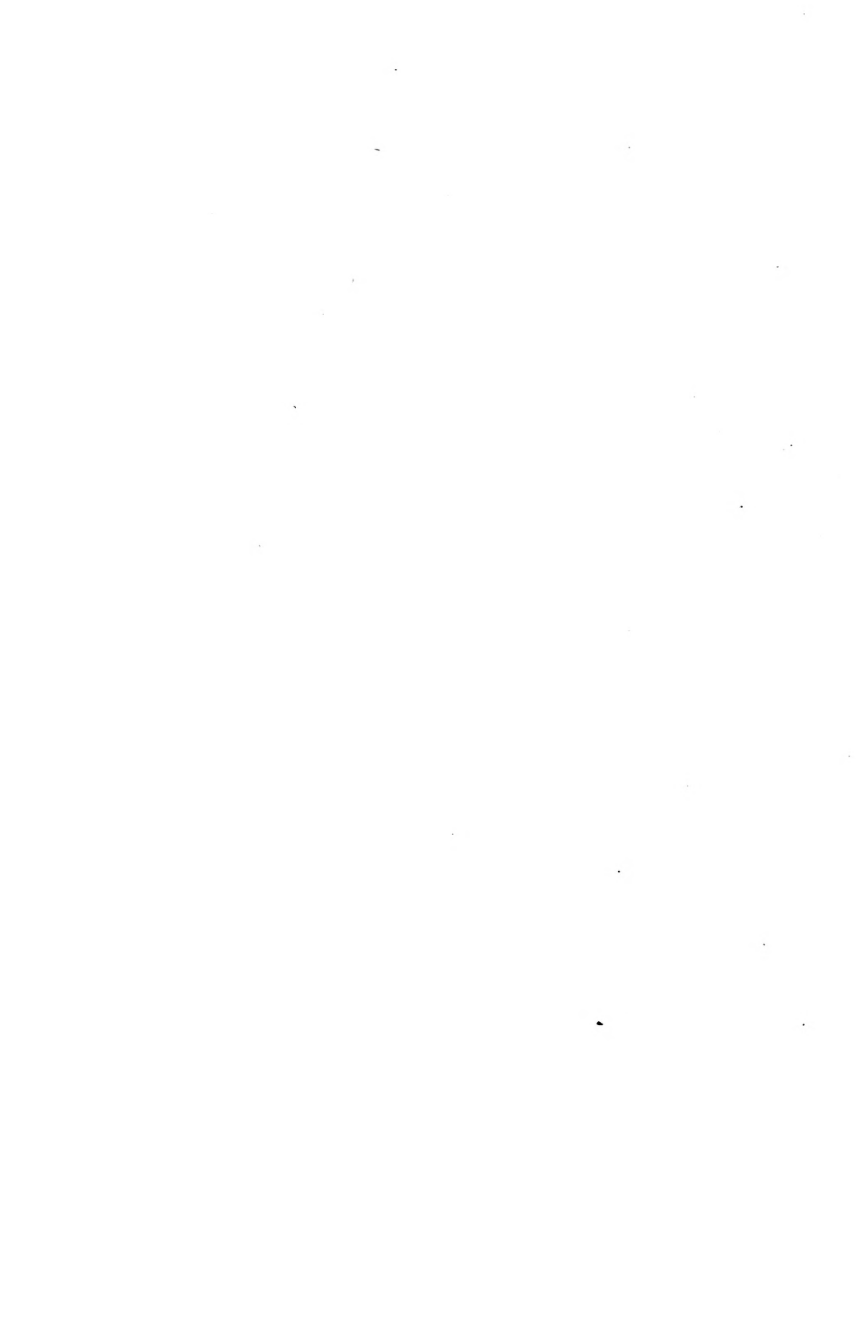
*THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CLASSICS
AND SCHOOL READINGS*

UNDER THE EDITORIAL SUPERVISION OF

W. M. DAVIDSON

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF TOPEKA, KANSAS

JAMES HENRY LANE



TWENTIETH CENTURY CLASSICS AND SCHOOL READINGS

JAMES HENRY LANE

THE "GRIM CHIEFTAIN" OF KANSAS

BY

WILLIAM ELSEY CONNELLEY

Author of "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory"

"Before God, I believe I shall see the day when this black and brutal party shall be broken in pieces, and from the waters of the Yellowstone to the warm waves of the Gulf one long line of free States shall rear themselves, an impenetrable barrier, against which the Western waves of slavery shall dash themselves in vain. UNTIL THEN I AM A CRUSADER FOR FREEDOM!"—JAMES HENRY LANE.

CRANE & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS

TOPEKA, KANSAS

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OPPORTUNITY.

Master of human destinies am I.

Fame, love and fortune on my footsteps wait.

Cities and fields I walk ; I penetrate

Deserts and seas remote, and passing by

House and mart and palace—soon or late

I knock unbidden once at every gate!

If sleeping, wake—if feasting, rise before

I turn away. It is the hour of fate,

And they who follow me reach every state

Mortals desire, and conquer every foe

Save Death ; but those who doubt or hesitate,

Condemned to failure, penury, and woe,

Seek me in vain and uselessly implore.

I answer not, and I return no more!

—JOHN JAMES INGALLS.

"Kansas will stamp upon the civilization of the age a hundred years of history before another parallel is produced to that weird, mysterious and partially insane, partially inspired, and poetic character, James H. Lane. It is not strange that his birthplace should be questioned. It is in keeping with his wayward, fitful life of passion and strife, of storm and sunshine—a mysterious existence that now dwelt on the mountain-tops of expectation and the very summit of highest realization, and anon in the valley of despondency and deepest gloom. Seven cities claim the honor of Homer's birth. . . . I do not think a great man ever lived who was not born of a strong, naturally intellectual, poetic and emotional mother."—MILTON W. REYNOLDS.

PREFATORY.

“States are not great
Except as men may make them;
Men are not great except they do and dare.
But States, like men,
Have destinies that take them —
That bear them on, not knowing why or where.”

THE high order of Kansas society is the result of the great intelligence and the exalted genius of the founders of the State. Men of education, high moral worth and refined taste, came to Kansas at the very first—even with immigrating Indian tribes when it was still a part of the “Indian country,” and “Missouri Territory.” It would seem that the land always had a fascination for men of talent, learning, genius. To herself Kansas has always tied her children with an attachment which amounts to devotion. One of the causes for this is, that the history of Kansas is an inspiration. This State was born of a struggle for liberty and freedom. So fierce were the fires kindled here in these causes that they purified the nation. It is only necessary for us to be well informed in the history of our State to make us love her, to make us devoted to her, to make us patriotic. The history of Kansas is full of men who will grow in stature as long as man loves liberty.

The processes of the evolution of so glorious a commonwealth from chaos and disorder are worth our closest attention. They deserve from us devoted study and contemplation. By the deeds and achievements of our fathers should we be inspired to a faithful performance of every duty demanded for the preservation of our liberties, secured to us by their sacrifices, their tears, and their blood; and sacredly intrusted to us to be guarded for the coming generations.

The enlightened citizen is a good citizen. When every citizen is a sovereign, liberty can only be preserved and transmitted to posterity by an intelligent and educated people knowing well how it was secured and what it cost. In this principle lies the foundation of our system of popular and universal education. The genius of our institutions makes it a crime against the national life to permit a child to grow up in ignorance. Men are patriotic as they are enlightened, devoted to the institutions of their country as they understand and appreciate them. Old systems and ancient nations perished because the great masses of their people were kept in ignorance, servitude, and penury.

Great men leave the impress of their genius upon the institutions they help to found. To rightly understand the institutions of our State, it is necessary that we should have some knowledge of the men who builded it. In this view the study of the life of the late Senator James Henry Lane becomes to us a duty.

That Senator Lane did service so valiant, so vital in the noble cause of freedom that he should be accorded the gratitude and love not only of this but of all the coming generations in Kansas and the nation, has long been the almost unanimous opinion of the people of this State. The consciousness that this is true, grows.

There were giants in those days; and in the "imminent, deadly breach" towered the form of James Henry Lane above them all. His life is interwoven with that of our State. As she grows in power and place, so must grow his fame.

In the preparation of this paper I have had the kindly assistance of Judge F. G. Adams. No work on Kansas subjects can be written, if it requires any research whatever, without diligent search in the mines of material accumulated in the archives of the State Historical Society by the long and toilsome labor of Secretary Adams.

W. E. C.

TOPEKA, KANSAS, October 7, 1899.

THE FORMATION OF KANSAS TERRITORY.

I.

“Than in our State
No illustration apter
Is seen or found of faith and hope and will.
Take up her story :
Every leaf and chapter
Contains a record that conveys a thrill.”

The genius and indomitable will of Lane liberated a land.

Let us follow the development of the Territory from the purchase of Louisiana from France. This was April 30th, 1803. Possession of Louisiana was delivered to the United States December 20th, 1803, at New Orleans. The United States did nothing toward exercising authority in Louisiana until March 10th, 1804, when Amos Stoddard assumed the duties of Governor of “Upper Louisiana.” On March 26th, 1804, Congress divided the territory acquired by the purchase of Louisiana into two parts. One of these was named the Territory of Orleans, and comprised that part of the country south of the north line of the present State of Louisiana. The remainder of this vast expanse was erected into the District of Louisiana and attached to Indiana Territory for the purposes of government. On

March 3d, 1805, Congress changed the name of the "District of Louisiana" to that of the "Territory of Louisiana," and detached it from Indiana Territory. President Jefferson appointed James Wilkinson its Governor.

It retained this status until June 4th, 1812, when Congress changed its name to Missouri Territory, and formulated for it a system of government. The common law of England was declared by the Legislature to be the law of the land. In 1819 the Territory of Arkansas was formed with the present boundaries of that State. In 1820-21 Missouri was admitted as a State with its present boundaries, except that it did not include the "Platte Purchase," which was added in 1836, in violation of the terms of the Missouri Compromise. The residue of the vast area remained *de facto* as well as *de jure* Missouri Territory. It extended from Texas to British North America, and was bounded west by the watershed of the Valley of the Mississippi. It had no capital—no seat of government, and very few white inhabitants.

This old Missouri Territory was divided by act of Congress June 30th, 1834. It was declared "Indian country,"—what it had in fact always been,—and came to be spoken of as the "Indian Territory." The south division was that portion south of the north line of the lands assigned to the Osages produced east to the west line of the State of Missouri; and was attached to Arkansas. The remainder of the Territory of Missouri was placed under the jurisdiction of the United States District Court of Missouri. In 1834 a part of Missouri Territory, on the north, was set off to the Territory of Michigan. What remained was still the Territory of Missouri, and so remained

until the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, May 30, 1854. Then its existence was terminated. All these years it had a government, although an extremely limited one, with all its functions condensed into the dicta of the United States District Court of Missouri.

The want of a more effective government was recognized. In 1844 the Secretary of War recommended the organization of a Territory. A bill for this purpose was introduced in the Senate, but not passed. Another effort in this direction was made in 1848, and failed. Up to this time there had been no absolute need for a Territorial government. But in the years 1849 and 1850 it is estimated that one hundred thousand persons passed over the plains to California. Such a knowledge was obtained of the beauty and fertility of the land, that popular clamor arose for its opening to settlement. Even the emigrant tribes of Indians began an agitation in this direction, in which the Wyandots at the mouth of the Kansas river took the lead. During the first session of the Thirty-second Congress, in the winter of 1851-52 and in the spring of 1852, these people petitioned Congress for a Territorial organization. No attention being paid to their petitions, they decided to elect a delegate to the second session of this Congress, and did so elect Abelard Guthrie, October 12th, 1852. Toward this action was first shown the opposition of the slave power to the erection of a Territory west of Missouri.

Guthrie secured the passage through the House of a bill to organize Nebraska Territory, with bounds which include Kansas and Nebraska as now constituted, and also portions of Colorado and Wyoming. This bill failed in the Senate,

but by a comparatively close vote. It forced the attention of the country and Congress to the demand of the people for a Territorial government.

Senator Benton, of Missouri, introduced in the Senate, in 1850, a bill for the location and construction of a "great national highway" to the Pacific ocean. The discovery of gold in California made the building of this road imperative. Two routes were proposed for this road. Senator Benton favored the one leading up the Kansas river. Illinois, Iowa and the free States generally favored Council Bluffs as the starting-point. Fort Smith had been proposed as an initial point, also, but it was soon seen that the road must be built either up the Platte or the Kansas valleys.

Mr. Guthrie acted for Senator Benton in his movement for a government for "Nebraska," as the country was beginning to be called. He was a Wyandot by marriage and adoption. Upon his return from Washington his tribe determined to organize a Provisional government for Nebraska Territory at the anniversary of their Green Corn Feast, August 9th, 1853. Afterwards it was resolved to form the Provisional government at an earlier date, which was done; the date being July 26th, 1853. The convention was held in the Wyandot council house, in what is now Kansas City, Kansas. William Walker was selected as Provisional Governor. A preamble and resolutions were adopted which served the Provisional government as a Constitution. An election for Delegate to Congress was held. Three men claimed the election, but no Delegate was admitted to a seat. However, all appeared there, and urged the establishment of Nebraska (Kansas) Territory.

[The foregoing account is condensed from Connelley's "Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory."]

II.

At the assembling of Congress in 1853 it was realized that something must be done with Nebraska (Kansas). Some action by Congress was demanded from every quarter. What that action should be was the question with the extremists of the slave power. The action by the people themselves had been opposed by the partisans of the radical Democracy in Missouri. True, they had not broken over the border in savage and brutal bands; that was reserved for a later day. But they had threatened Guthrie with arrest at Fort Leavenworth; and also to use the military if necessary to prevent or suppress the movement for a Provisional government.

The South was not averse to the opening of the country to settlement, nor to the erection of Territorial governments, if slavery could in some way be made a fundamental institution of some of them.

The pledged faith of the nation in the form of the Missouri Compromise confronted them. Their objections to opening the country to settlement could be overcome only by the repeal of this sacred compact. As no other way appeared, to this unwelcome and dangerous step did Senator Douglas now set himself. The two things which nerved him were the extreme and radical element now controlling the South, and on his part a desire to attain to the Presidency. He hoped the one would become the means of securing the other. He was in trepidation as to the effect in the North, but without the support of the South his ambition were better flung away altogether.

Time for decisive action was at hand. The matter

pressed. As to who first entertained the idea of proposing the measure of repeal, we are not concerned. In 1852 Senator Atchison, of Missouri, expressed the belief that the slaves then in Nebraska (Kansas) were free by the operation of the Missouri Compromise, and asked its repeal before he would consent to have anything done by Congress for the country. Some believed that it had been in effect repealed by the Compromise of 1850, when the doctrine of popular sovereignty was first enacted into law. Senator Douglas finally embodied this idea in a bill.

This bill he introduced in January, 1854. It provided for the erection of but one Territory, to be called Nebraska, embracing Kansas and Nebraska and the country west of them to the Rocky Mountains. This bill was recalled by Senator Douglas, who then brought in another, the now famous "Kansas-Nebraska Bill," providing for two Territories, Kansas and Nebraska. It became a law May 30th, 1854.

Kansas here took definite form. Its eastern, northern and southern boundaries were as they remain to-day; its western limit was the summit of the Rocky Mountains.

THE LAND.

“Now Nature hangs her mantle green
On every blooming tree,
And spreads her sheets o’ daisies white
Out o’er the grassy lea.”

—*Burns.*

It may be well for us to inquire what this country is like, which was so unexpectedly made an entity and promised a place in the sisterhood of the Republic.

At the time of which we write the wild man possessed it. To him its undulating fertility was of no value except to that degree in which it produced wild animals for him to pursue. In its solitude it was a land of plenty. The Osage and Kansas Indians were required to make so little effort to obtain food that they became too lazy to maintain the set forms of their language. Words were shortened and sentences abbreviated. Rolling herds of buffalo grazed on the swelling prairies, rising and falling like the billows of the sea. When stampeded their hoof-beats rumbled like low and distant thunder. The wild flowers flamed on the meadow-grass. The leaves of the cottonwood quaked and shimmered on the borders of the serpentine streams. The broad-headed, short-boled bur-oak made the prairies along the streams and the rich bottom lands look like orchards. The autumnal sumac set every hill aflame. Where the swarthy squaw tilled the soil with a bone hoe, a harvest

bloomed and the yellow maize hung the Indian lodges with a golden tapestry.

“ The cheeriness and charm
Of forest and of farm
Are merging into colors sad and sober ;
The hectic frondage drapes
The nut trees and the grapes —
September yields to opulent October.

“ The cottonwoods that fringe
The streamlets take the tinge ;
Through opal haze the sumac bush is burning ;
The lazy zephyrs lisp,
Through cornfields dry and crisp,
Their fond regrets for days no more returning.”

The Valley of the Kaw is more fertile than that of the Nile, and its bursting granaries furnish loaves for all peoples. Great as has been our progress, the possibilities of this State are not realized to-day. The land is sun-kissed, and no disease is indigenous to its plains.

Man is destined to reach the highest intellectual plane on the prairies of Kansas, and in our progress how much do we owe to the heroic deeds of our fathers ! Well might they say :

“ We have made the State of Kansas,
And to-day she stands complete —
First in freedom, first in wheat ;
And her future years will meet
Ripened hopes and richer stanzas.”

The boys and girls of the Kansas homes are most fortunate. The generous and fertile farms pour golden streams into bursting barns. The school-house and the church

crown every hill. No saloon desecrates the dale. The rich landscape inspires the poet to song.

“O Marmaton! O Marmaton!
From out the rich autumnal west
There creeps a misty, pearly rest,
 As through an atmosphere of dreams.
Along thy course, O Marmaton,
 A rich September sunset streams.
Thy purple sheen,
Through prairies green,
From out the burning west is seen.
 I watch thy fine,
 Approaching line,
 That seems to flow like blood-red wine
Fresh from the vintage of the sun.”

The Kansas-Nebraska bill dedicated this land to human slavery. Another people than our fathers thought to find a home here, and foist slavery upon the State forever. Senator Ingalls pictures the land as they would have made it:

“It is appalling to reflect what the condition of Kansas would have been to-day had its destiny been left in the hands of Shang* and those of his associates who first did its voting and attempted to frame its institutions. A few hundred mush-eating chawbacons, her only population, would still have been chasing their razor-backed hogs through the thickets of black-jack, and jugging for catfish in the chutes of the Missouri and the Kaw.”

*A name by which the Missourian is contemptuously described by the Senator.

BLACKENING SKIES.

“ . . . men
‘ Who meeting Cæsar’s self, would slap his back,
Call him ‘ Old Horse ’ and challenge to drink. ’ ”

The white population of the South in the days of slavery was antithetical. The aristocratic planter was educated, refined, high-minded, gallant, gracious. This class constituted an aristocracy based upon slavery and the wealth produced by the cultivation of large plantations. The wealth of the entire South, outside of the Appalachian Mountain districts, belonged to this class. Educated, bred in the belief in the slavery of human beings, they saw naught but right in this monstrous institution. This aristocracy taught that labor was degrading; any white man who labored was regarded by them with contempt, hatred.

Where slaves were numerous there resided a class of poor whites contemptuously called by the master and slave alike “ poor white trash.” Slavery, while leaving them free, had reduced them to a social degradation even below that of the slaves themselves. Low as was their social plane, their moral plane was beneath it. Their opposition to education and refinement extended to a detestation of persons aspiring to or possessing them. So irresponsible were they that the laws of the land or those intrusted with their execution permitted this class to be a law unto themselves, and took no more note of their petty crimes than of

the habits of the starved and scrawny swine they herded. The origin of this people has been the enigma of the times, but it is now believed they are the descendants of the mongrel folk dumped on the eastern shores of North Carolina from the slums and prison-houses of all Europe in the founding of that colony. They possessed none of the qualifications necessary for hardy pioneers, and drifted aimlessly, a menace to every community in their path.^{1*}

While this people possessed no slave, it was the most persistent believer in the righteousness of slavery. Held in the deepest contempt by the aristocracy, these dregs of humanity were ready to do their every command. Murder and arson were for them a pastime, and these were committed with impunity at the bidding of their masters, who controlled them as absolutely and with more ease than they did their actual slaves. By the year 1850 these poor whites were drifted against the western State line of Missouri in great numbers. With them were demoralized and degraded men from every walk of life. Senator Ingalls says they hated an "abolitionist," and feared him next to a free negro.

Upon the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill this human driftwood floated in over the eastern portions of Kansas. They broke over the State line by thousands, and selected "claims." They selected the choice lands, and often pretended to select "claims" for others, who could not come. That the Indian tribes still owned much of the land mattered not at all to them. Having "located," many of them returned to Missouri, leaving some of their number to murder any who dared to molest their illegally made selections, or "claims." A part of the history of Douglas

*See notes — 1 to 7 — at end of this chapter.

county is an account of the ruffianly actions of these same men in relation to "claims," and their efforts to prevent Free-State men from settling there, and to drive away such as did settle.²

This class acted under orders from such men as Price, Atchison, and Stringfellow.

The indignation aroused in the North by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the manifest intention of the South to make Kansas a slave State at all hazards, caused the organization of societies in many of the Northern States having as their object the assistance of emigrants into Kansas who were opposed to slavery. The New England Emigrant Aid Society was the only one of these which came to be a factor of any potency in the winning of Kansas. Its organization and its public and published declaration that it proposed to make Kansas a free State, were notice to the South and to the advocates of slavery that the free States of the North and their people would contest for the soil of Kansas.

Northern emigrants to Kansas preceded the arrival of Governor Reeder by the time from July to October. Individuals had arrived before the first company came in July. They usually avoided the Missouri border in the selection of homes, and sought the interior of the Territory; they settled in greatest number south of the Kansas river. They carried with them little property, but they brought something of infinitely greater value—simple and blameless lives and high moral purposes. Two things they came for: one to find homes for themselves and their children, the other to make a free State of the land in which these homes were cast. And to sustain these they possessed the spirit

which inspired the martyrs. They succeeded. In the stern and forbidding face of an opposition such as has rarely been encountered by a migrating people, and being, too, always in the minority,* they stamped the institutions of their chosen land with the aggressive spirit and ideas of the Puritans. They set their faces against the evil of the century. The two extreme, antagonistic principles of our government met and battled for the mastery of the Republic here on the Plains. The Puritan idea with its unconquerable vitality triumphed.³

In the coming of Governor Reeder did the pro-slavery people see the arrival of their champion—their salvation. He was awaited with hot and feverish impatience. Missourians and their partisans expected him to become at once the mouthpiece of their creed, the promulgator of their views, the sheet-anchor of their hopes in the fixing of slavery permanently in Kansas, now so happily established there in theory and in law. They assumed that as a matter of course all the machinery and power of the Administration would be exerted to this end through Governor Reeder's administration of the Territorial government. That he would for a moment dare to run counter to their wishes had not entered their minds. It was supposed and believed that he would consult their leaders, Price, Atchison, Stringfellow, and others, to see what they desired, then act accordingly.

The first intimation that they might be disappointed, to an extent at least, came when Governor Reeder made a tour of the Territory to *procure information*. Information, in-

* That is, the New England people were never a majority.

deed! What he desired of information which could not be supplied by the slave leaders of the border, was beyond the comprehension of the turbulent Missourian.

The Governor tells us that the citizens of Missouri were vehemently urging the immediate election of a legislature, but that for good reasons (which he gives) he determined to first call an election for Delegate to Congress. It was called for November 29th, 1854.

General Atchison gave expression to the policy to be pursued by the Missourians in this election. He said:

“The organic law of the Territory vests in the people who reside in it the power to form all its municipal regulations. They can either admit or exclude slavery; and this is the only question that materially affects our interests.

“Upon this subject it would be unnecessary for me to say one word, if things had been left to their ordinary and natural course. Men heretofore migrated and settled new Territories upon this continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, following the parallels of latitude, and carrying with them their habits, customs and institutions. But now new laws are to govern; new lines, new habits, customs and institutions are to be substituted, and that, too, by force of money and organization.

“The North is to be turned to the South, and all the Territories of the United States to be abolitionized; colonies are to be planted in all places where slavery and slave institutions can best be assailed; and Kansas is now a favorite position, from whence they can now assail Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas. Men are being sent from Massachusetts and elsewhere for the avowed purpose of excluding

slaveholders from Kansas, and, as a matter of course, to steal and protect fugitive slaves. The first thing, however, they have come to do is to throw into Kansas a majority of votes to control the ballot-boxes.

“This is the policy of the abolitionists. These means are used by them. Their money and all other influences they can bring to bear are to be exerted for this purpose.”

Gen. Atchison said further: “My mission here to-day is if possible to awaken the people of this county to the danger ahead, and to suggest the means to avoid it. The people of Kansas, in their first elections, will decide the question whether or not the slaveholder is to be excluded, and it depends upon a majority of the votes cast at the polls. Now, if a set of fanatics and demagogues, a thousand miles off, can afford to advance their money and exert every nerve to abolitionize the Territory and exclude the slaveholder, when they have not the least personal interest in the matter, what is your duty? When you reside within one day’s journey of the Territory, and when your peace, your quiet and your property depend upon your action, you can, without an exertion, send 500 of your young men who will vote in favor of your institutions.

“Should each county in the State of Missouri only do its duty, the question will be decided quietly and peaceably at the ballot-box. If we are defeated, then Missouri and the other Southern States will have shown themselves recreant to their interests, and will have deserved their fate. The abolitionists will have nothing to gain or lose. It is an abstraction with them. We have much to gain and much to lose.

“If you burn my barn, I sustain a great loss, but you

gain nothing. So it is with the colonization societies and the dupes they send to abolitionize Kansas.

"If these abolitionists steal your negroes, they gain nothing. The negroes are injured; you are ruined. So much greater is the motive for activity on your part.

"Fellow-citizens, we should not be apathetic when so much is involved. We should be up and doing. We must meet organization with organization. We must meet those philanthropic knaves peaceably at the ballot-box and out-vote them.

"If we cannot do this, it is an omen that the institution of slavery must fall in this and the other Southern States, but it will fall after much strife, civil war and bloodshed.

"If abolitionism, under its present auspices, is established in Kansas, there will be constant strife and bloodshed between Kansas and Missouri. Negro-stealing will be a principle and a vocation. It will be the policy of philanthropic knaves, until they force the slaveholder to abandon Missouri; nor will it be long until it is done. You cannot watch your stables to prevent thieves from stealing your horses and mules; neither can you watch your negro quarters to prevent your neighbors from seducing away and stealing your negroes.

"If Kansas is abolitionized, all men who love peace and quiet will leave us, and all emigration to Missouri from the slave States will cease. We will go either to the North or to the South. For myself, I can gather together my goods and depart as soon as the most active among you. I have neither wife nor child to impede my flight. In a hybrid State we cannot live; we cannot be in a constant quarrel—in a constant state of suspicion of our neighbors. This

feeling is entertained by a large portion of mankind everywhere.

“To succeed in making Kansas a slave Territory, it is not sufficient for the South to talk, but to act; to go peaceably and inhabit the Territory, and peaceably to vote and settle the question according to the principles of the Douglas bill.”⁴

Such speeches were made everywhere in western Missouri. Many of them were more radical and inflammatory. The organization resorted to was the secret society which met in “Blue Lodges.” Money was contributed with which to buy whisky and hire men to come from long distances to vote and debauch Kansas. At this election the border-ruffians first voted in Kansas, as it was their first opportunity to do so. Fifty miles inland they seized the polls and voted for Whitfield, the pro-slavery candidate, who was elected by practical unanimity. The madness and folly of the action of the ruffians are best realized when we see that Whitfield would have been elected by a large majority had they remained at home.

In January following, Governor Reeder caused an enumeration of the inhabitants of the Territory to be made for the basis for an apportionment for members of the legislature shortly to be elected. In the meantime the leaders in Missouri were perniciously active. They sought by every means to inflame the passions of their motley and brutal following. Exaggerated accounts of the army of “abolitionists” coming into the Territory at the instance and by the aid of Northern organizations were industriously circulated. All the border counties of Missouri were organized

for resistance to what was termed the "ragged, miserly, nigger-stealing crew, who skulk behind the name Free-State." The "Blue Lodges" were found as far east as Boonville. The degree to which they had aroused their following may be judged from the tone of their newspapers:

"We hate a deceiver. And a party like this . . . we hold in meaner contempt than we do the immediate and avowed pupils of Lloyd Garrison. Their Janus-faced, double-dealing conduct must make them abhorred of God as they are despised by honorable men, and their last end will be down, like the dog, bereft of a soul to rise, but secure in earthly preservation, for no 'creeping thing' of God's make will work in their accursed carcasses.

"It cannot be that such wretches will triumph over all right and justice. We know the spirit of the West too well to admit of it. We will to the rescue, with lead and steel if necessary, for triumph our enemies shall not, unless God forsakes us, and this country is too new to deserve the judgments of Sodom and Gomorrah. Missourians, remember the 30th day of March, A. D. 1855, as Texans once remembered the Alamo." ⁵

The election was held March 30th. The agitation of the previous weeks along the border had been effective. It bore fruit on this day. To such a pitch had the passions of the Missourians been wrought that they came over by hundreds and thousands to vote in Kansas. Their conduct all along the line can be described best by telling what occurred at the house of Harrison Burson, in the second district, now in Douglas county:

“Claiborne F. Jackson addressed the crowd, saying that he had come there to vote; and that he had a right to vote, if he had been there but five minutes, and that he was unwilling to go home without voting; which was received with cheers. Jackson then called upon them to form into little bands of fifteen or twenty, which they did, and went to an ox-wagon filled with guns, which were distributed among them, and they proceeded to load some of them on the ground.

“In pursuance with Jackson’s request, they tied white tape or ribbons in their button-holes, to distinguish them from the “abolitionists.” They again demanded that the judges should resign; and upon their refusing to do so, smashed in the window, sash and all, and presented their pistols and guns to them, threatening to shoot them. Some one on the outside cried out to them not to shoot, as there were Pro-Slavery men in the house with the judges. They then put a pry under the corner of the house, which was a log house, lifted it up a few inches and let it fall, but desisted on being told there were Pro-Slavery men in the house. During this time the crowd repeatedly demanded to be allowed to vote without being sworn, and Mr. Ellison, one of the judges, expressed himself willing, but the other two judges refused; thereupon a body of men headed by [Sheriff] Jones rushed into the judges’ room with cocked pistols and drawn bowie-knives in their hands, and approached Burson and Ramsay. Jones pulled out his watch and said he would give them five minutes to resign in or die. When the five minutes had expired and the judges did not resign, Jones said he would give them another minute and no more. Ellison told his associates that if they did

not resign, there would be 100 shots fired in the room in less than fifteen minutes, and then, snatching up the ballot-box ran out into the crowd, holding up the ballot-box and hurrahing for Missouri. About that time, Burson and Ramsay were called out by their friends, and not suffered to return. As Mr. Burson went out, he put the ballot poll-books in his pocket and took them with him, and as he was going out, Jones snatched some papers from him, and shortly afterward came out, holding them up, and crying, 'Hurrah for Missouri!' After he discovered that they were not the poll-books, he took a party of men with him and started off to take the poll-books from Burson. When Mr. Burson saw them coming, he gave the books to Mr. Umbarger and told him to start off in another direction so as to mislead Jones and his party. Jones and his party caught Mr. Umbarger, took the poll-books away from him, and Jones took him up behind him on a horse and carried him back a prisoner. Afterwards they went to the house of Ramsay and took Judge John A. Wakefield [the Free-State candidate for Representative] prisoner, and carried him to the place of election, and made him get up on a wagon and there make a speech; after which, they put a white ribbon in his button-hole and let him go. Then they chose two new judges and proceeded with the election." ⁶

It was the same everywhere. The legal, resident voters of the Territory had no rights which the Missourians considered it their duty to respect, and the Free-State men had little representation in the Legislature. Governor Reeder was aware of the frauds, but was powerless to prevent or correct them. He refused certificates to some of the per-

sons elected. The Missouri opinion of this act is expressed in the following newspaper comment :

“ We just learn as we go to press, that Reeder has refused to give certificates to four Councilmen and thirteen members of the House. He has ordered an election to fill their places on the 22d of May. This infernal scoundrel will have to be hemped yet.” ⁷

Governor Reeder's refusal to issue certificates to the fraudulently elected members of the Legislature marks the beginning of complete anarchy in Kansas Territory.

NOTES.

1. “ This Carolinian section was originally settled by a far more diversified population than that which formed the colonies to the northward. This was especially the case in North Carolina. This colony was originally possessed by a land company, which proposed to find its profit in a peculiar fashion. This company paid contractors so much a head for human beings put ashore in the colony. One distinguished trader in population, a certain Baron de Graffenried, settled several thousand folk at and about New Berne, on the swampy shores of the eastern sounds. They were from a great variety of places: a part from England, others from the banks of the Rhine, others again from Switzerland. There was a great mass of human driftwood in Europe at the close of the seventeenth century, the wreck of long-continued wars; so it was easy to bring immigrants by the shipload if they were paid for. But the material was unfit to be the foundation of a State. From this settlement of eastern North Carolina is descended the most unsatisfactory population in this country. The central and western parts of North Carolina had an admirable population, that principally came to the State through Virginia; but this population about Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds, though its descendants are numerous, perhaps not numerically much in-

ferior to that which came from the Virginia settlements, is vastly inferior to it in all the essential qualities of the citizen. From the Virginia people have come a great number of men of national and some of world-wide reputation. It is not likely that any other population, averaging in numbers about five hundred thousand souls, has in a century furnished as many able men. On the other hand, this eastern North Carolina people has given no men of great fame to the history of the country, while a large part of the so-called 'poor white' population of the South appears to be descended from the mongrel folk who were turned ashore on the eastern border of North Carolina."—[Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. IV, p. xxviii,—Introduction.]

2. "Those unacquainted with the inhabitants of the Border at that time cannot well comprehend how that public sentiment could so easily be swayed and shaped by drunken, vulgar and inflammatory speeches. First, there were the native Missourians, who were a singular class of people, and have not, perhaps, their prototypes in the world—certainly not in the United States. Their fathers were chiefly renegades from the Eastern States, who had fled to escape the just desert for crimes committed. They inherited all the vices of their ancestors, and had learned many new ones. They were incredulous and suspicious of strangers and easily excited against them. When enraged they were as furious as a mad dog and as cowardly and unmanly as a jackal. They had no *conclusions*, but only *beliefs*. They never knew anything but by rumor. They had few ideas and opinions of their own, but gathered them from their leading men. No matter how clearly a stranger might demonstrate a truth to them, they would not believe it. No matter how absurd a proposition advanced by one of their favorite leaders might be, they would embrace it as coming from the Oracle of Truth. Utter strangers to principle, they were never happier than when in meanness. Loud in their professions for law and order, there was not a week passed during which robberies, murders and disturbances were not committed. Whenever an individual became unpopular in community, he was accused of all kinds of misdoings and evil designs, warned to leave—which failing to observe, he was attacked by a mob, his property destroyed, and lucky he was if he escaped with his life. . . . Whisky was held in high esteem by all classes. . . . Of native

Missourians there were two classes—the wealthy and the poor—holding about the same relation to each other as did the planters and the poor whites of the South. The poor were much more numerous; but being ignorant and pecuniarily dependent upon their wealthy neighbors, they were the pliant tools of the latter. . . .

“Both classes of native Missourians along the Border were at that time alike unscrupulous, ungenerous and ignoble. The wealthy, highly aristocratic, possessed all the cravings to rule of Southern slave-masters. Though full of blarney and suavity, with the exterior polish of gentlemen, they would not shrink from any measure to attain their ends. . . .

“There were also a peculiar, though powerful, class along the Border, composed chiefly of native Missourians, who might justly be termed the loungers and loafers. They accompanied trains across the Plains, went on hunting expeditions, and had generally been through the Mexican War. They were a powerful class—the military of the Border. They formed the mobs, did the stealing and a good share of the drinking. They were ever ready for any adventure, anything wild and daring.”—[History of Kansas Territory; p. 98. By John N. Holloway.]

3. “The Puritan idea is aggressive. It has an unconquerable vitality. Assailed, it grows stronger; wounded, it revives; buried, it becomes the angel of its own resurrection.”—[Senator Ingalls.]

4. Andreas' History of Kansas, p. 93.

5. Andreas' History of Kansas, p. 95.

6. Andreas' History of Kansas, p. 95.

7. Andreas' History of Kansas, p. 98.

SLAVERY.

“There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
Would men observingly distill it out.”

—*Shakespeare.*

What was this institution against which Kansas rose and revolted?

In the early stages of man's existence his normal condition was a state of warfare. In this age of his development he slew his captives. It came to be seen when man began to till the soil, that a captive might be made to be of use and service in the performance of labor for his master. His life was spared upon this discovery, and instead of receiving death for his misfortune he was enslaved. Thus human slavery was a reform when first established, and an indication of advancement in society. It was practiced by almost all ancient peoples. For their times, the Jewish system was humane. A period beyond which a slave could not be held was fixed. A jubilee was established.

Human slavery began in America at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619, the Dutch selling negroes to the planters there in that year. It spread over the whole country; but as it was unprofitable on the sterile hills of the North, it finally came to exist only in the South. Jefferson wrote it down that the slaves were certain to be free at some time in the future. The fathers of the Republic could not deal with the question, for no arrangement could have been de-

vised for its settlement at that time. As the sentiment against slavery grew in the North, slave labor grew more remunerative in the South, and consequently the sentiment in its favor increased there. After the Missouri Compromise, the ideas, slavery and anti-slavery, came to be recognized as the two antagonistic principles of our government. More than once did the efforts to advance the one or the other endanger the life of the Union. All its practices were abhorrent to the enlightened mind. Infants were torn from their mothers and sold away. Husbands were sold away from wives, children from parents and from one another, and carried away amid wails, groans, and tears. Slave-drivers carried heavy whips with which to flay the backs of their hapless victims; into these wounds salt was forced, or water withheld from stiffening, blackening, festering gashes.

While it was the torment of the damned to the slaves, it was even a greater evil to their owners. The conscience died. The nature of man became brutalized. Political decay and barbarism, perhaps savagery, are the sure states of those countries which do not rise above human slavery.

But how inscrutable are the ways of Providence! An eminent French writer avers that ultimate good must arise from every evil custom of a people. Virtue and chastity of women, he affirms, are the result of long ages of the brutal selfishness of man, and his inhuman treatment of her. And from these actions of primitive man, too horrible to record, we have to-day, and have had for thousands of years, the chaste and continent home, the family, which is the unit and foundation of our every social and political institution.

So it was with human slavery in North America. It was born of the selfish greed, nurtured and protected by the violation of every law of mercy, justice, and humanity; planted here by the uprooting and destruction of whole peoples; murder foul; horrors too black to write. But in its abolition here, men discussed freedom. A higher liberty than man had enjoyed came to be our ideal. We cast off this evil with groans, at the expense of blood and treasure, but from the struggle we emerged with broader views. We come now to be the champions of this high ideal of liberty. We insist that it is the birthright of all men everywhere. It is our boast that we enjoy the highest degree of liberty of any people in the world.

In the destruction of slavery in Kansas we made it impossible of existence anywhere in America. And it should be the pride of Kansans that their fathers began this conflict for universal freedom. To blot out and burn away this plague-spot and foul leprosy of the nation did the people of Kansas set themselves. And the result was anarchy on the border and in Kansas Territory. Their blazing homes lighted up the prairies.

Within a month after the election of the Legislature there came into Kansas a strange man. That man was James Henry Lane, known in Kansas history as the "Grim Chieftain of Kansas," and familiarly among his friends as "Jim Lane"—long afterwards a Senator from Kansas, a General in the Civil War, and an intimate friend of the martyred Lincoln. He bore a heroic part in that preliminary struggle. We shall see more of him in the pages which follow.

THE MAN.

“Yea, this man’s brow, like a title-leaf,
Foretells the nature of a tragic volume.”

The precise date of the arrival of James Henry Lane in Kansas is not known. It was sometime in the month of April, 1855.^{1*}

Let us look at this man who came in honorable poverty into Kansas Territory on the eve of the great events here, and of greater in the nation than had before been witnessed since its founding. He was tall, and like Cassius, bore “a lean and hungry look.”

“Meager were his looks,
Sharp misery had worn him to the bones.”

He was poorly clad; he cared little for his personal appearance. His cowskin overcoat and calfskin vest (both with the hair of the animals still on them) came to be proverbs in Kansas.

His eyes were dark and restless, and when he was aroused they burned with the depth and intensity of charcoal fires. His features were good,—forehead high, nose finely cut, mouth firm but with some lines of weakness, chin and jaw square and heavy. His arms were long, and every old-time Kansan will tell of his long and bony forefinger and its potency in all Kansas affairs in which he engaged. His presence was commanding. We are assured by all who

* See notes — 1 to 5 — at end of this chapter.

knew him personally that no mere word-description of him can ever be made to convey any adequate idea of the man. His energy was boundless, limitless; his personality was strong, potent, overpowering; his tenacity of purpose was persistent, indomitable; his whole organism one of vigor, cogency, magnetism.

It is uncertain whether he was born in Kentucky or Indiana. The probability is that he was born in Lawrenceburg, Indiana, June 22, 1814. It is possible that it may be yet determined by research that he was born in Boone county, Kentucky. It is well established that he often claimed Kentucky as his native State. In the sketch of his life written by himself, he says he was born on the bank of the Ohio river, but does not say upon which bank.²

His father was Amos Lane, and came of that stock called by Prentis "the from everlasting to everlasting Scotch-Irish." It is claimed that he was a native of New York. It is almost certain that he was born in Guilford county, North Carolina. From the best accounts it seems that the Lane family were originally Pennsylvanians. From this State some of them went to Virginia, some to North Carolina, and some to New York. Amos Lane went to New York when a young man, and was there a clerk in a store for some time. At Ogdensburg he met and married Miss Mary Foote, at that time a teacher. She was born in Connecticut, and was of a distinguished New England family. She was a woman of piety. She was for forty years a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. She was possessed of more than an ordinary share of good common-sense, and a desire to accomplish something in the world. She was the inspiration of her husband's efforts to enter

the practice of law. For many years they were very poor, but they labored diligently,—she at teaching, he at anything he could find for his hands to do. He was a Democrat, and is said to have been a friend if not an acquaintance of Thomas Jefferson. This was made a reason for not admitting him to the bar when he first came to Indiana. He came from New York to Cincinnati as early as 1804. In the spring of 1808 he moved to Lawrenceburg, Indiana. It was here he was refused admittance to the bar. He then crossed the river into Kentucky, and after further moving about, returned to Lawrenceburg in 1814.³

Amos Lane was elected to the first Legislature of Indiana, in 1816; was the Speaker of the House. He was elected to other terms in the Legislature, and in 1833 was elected to Congress, where he served several years. He was an ardent supporter of Andrew Jackson, with whom he was upon terms of close friendship. Until his death in 1850 he was the ruling power in politics in southern Indiana, in the Democratic party. He was a famous orator, shrewd, and not always governed by the highest motives, especially in his political transactions.

But it was to his mother that James Henry Lane owed most of his genius. She was in every sense a superior woman, and she has been spoken of as having “a coal of fire in her heart,” so ambitious, so restless, and full of energy was she. What education her son obtained she imparted. She designed him for the ministry in the church of her faith. Her life was one of constant effort in his younger days. While her husband traveled over the country to attend the migratory “Circuit Court,” she kept boarders and taught school “in her own cabin.” A very eminent man

has said that it is a prerequisite to success to be born right, and James H. Lane was richly endowed by heredity.

In the days of his boyhood, Indiana was the frontier. He was born during the War of 1812, and only a year before the battle of the Raisin. Men are not educated wholly in school-rooms. If they have not the faculty of gaining knowledge in the broader school of life, "book-learning" is wasted upon them. The noisy, turbulent, often dangerous frontier is a school better equipped to develop strength of character, self-reliance, resource in emergency, than any other. Here society is rude and unsettled—in the process of taking definite form. Theory counts for little—action for everything. In such a frontier schooling did Lane become familiar with the motives and forces that move men—especially frontiers-men. The exaggerated style of speech, the boisterous and aggressive manner, the personal courage, the iron constitution, the remarkable and tireless persistency in the prosecution of an enterprise once engaged in,—these were the inheritance from his environment on the frontier, where a strong and independent people were laying broad and well the foundation of a great State. In this school was Lane well learned. His faults (and he had many) were also those of the frontier, where they were not considered of so great consequence as in older and better ordered society. In this same school was Lincoln learned, and one of the reasons for the strong attachment between these two most remarkable men was their graduation from the frontier life of southern Indiana.

While he was well learned in the rude school of the frontiers-men, it must not be supposed that he was unlettered.

He possessed a fair knowledge of the elementary branches of learning. This was meager enough, and as has been said, he owed most of it to the personal attention given by his mother. After all, the mother is a great teacher. It is not so much the amount of knowledge imparted, as the degree of enthusiasm inspired, that tells in the later life of the pupil. Her noble aspirations and the tender solicitude for her family, her devotion to every duty and the constancy of her life purposes, touched his heart; of this he gave evidence all through his life. In no institution of learning could he have been so well fitted for the leadership of men and movements as in the schools of his mother and the frontier of the Republic.

For some years he was engaged in trade in Lawrenceburg, in company with a brother-in-law. It seems to have been a pork-packing establishment, combined with the forwarding of the produce of the country to market. In those days New Orleans was the only market of consequence for the products of the Ohio valley. He, like Lincoln, pushed his own flatboat back and forth, to and from that mart. But in this vocation he was handicapped by his peculiar bent of mind. Such occupations are ever irksome to natures contented only to lead. The nearest mart is too far away and the road to it too quiet and commonplace for them. In their view, the result is not worth the effort. They long for excitement, for opportunity for leadership. Lane was a born leader of men. His environment and training had vastly developed his natural abilities. He saw in politics a field exactly to his liking; perhaps his tendency in this direction was inherited. He says he studied law, was admitted to the bar, and practiced in partnership with his father.

His entrance into politics was in a small way—an election to the common council of his native village. He was repeatedly re-elected. He made his first public speech in 1832, in favor of General Jackson. He was but eighteen, and it is said that his effort was a very creditable one. He was elected to the Legislature in 1845, and in the winter following was a candidate before the convention of his party for the nomination for the office of Lieutenant-Governor; he was defeated by one vote.

In the fall of 1842 he was married to Miss Mary E. Baldrige, a granddaughter of General Arthur St. Clair.

In July, 1846, Lane raised a company of volunteers in Lawrenceburg for the Mexican war. He informs us that this was before the requisition of the President had reached the State of Indiana. He marched his company (of which he had been elected captain) to New Albany. There it was made a part of the Third Regiment, Indiana Volunteers, and Lane was elected Colonel of the regiment. The regiment hurried to Mexico, and was a part of General Taylor's command. Colonel Lane served under Taylor until the spring of 1847. At the battle of Buena Vista he distinguished himself as a brave soldier and an able officer. In this battle the command of a large part of the army devolved upon him.

Colonel Lane returned to Indiana in July, 1847, and raised the Fifth Indiana Regiment, of which he was elected the Colonel, and which he took to Mexico. This regiment was placed under General Butler, and did not reach the City of Mexico until after its capture by General Scott. When peace was concluded his regiment was discharged. He arrived in Indiana in July, 1848. His record as a

soldier in the Mexican War was both creditable and honorable. He did his duty faithfully and well, and won the confidence and praise of his superiors in command.

In 1849 the Democratic party of Indiana nominated him for the office of Lieutenant-Governor, and he was elected by a large majority. His party made him an Elector-at-large in the Presidential campaign of 1852. He was elected, and cast the vote of the State of Indiana for Franklin Pierce for President. He was elected by the Democratic party to the Thirty-second Congress, and voted for the Kansas-Nebraska bill. He afterwards reported that he voted for the bill because he had been instructed to do so. There was for many years in Kansas a persistent repetition of the terms of an agreement said to have been made between him and Douglas. It was said to have been on this wise: Lane was at first opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Douglas succeeded in convincing Lane that the passage of the bill would make him (Douglas) President. Lane was to go to Kansas, organize the Democratic party there, and when the Territory should be admitted as a State he was to be elected United States Senator, and control the patronage of the State under the Administration of Douglas. In the meantime he was to control the Federal patronage of the Administration then in power, so far as the influence of Douglas could make it possible. The facts concerning the truth or falsity of this agreement cannot now be learned. Many of the old-time Kansans yet living insist that such an agreement existed. The probability is that Lane did not think of coming to Kansas until his attention was attracted to it by the debates in Congress on the Douglas bill. It is not improbable that some ar-

rangement was discussed between Lane and Douglas; whether it reached to the dignity of an agreement or not is very doubtful.

Whether he came to Kansas alone or was accompanied by his family seems to be a question, also. On his arrival he immediately built a cabin on his claim adjoining Lawrence. Here Mrs. Lane soon joined him.⁴

The latest biographer of Lane leaves it in doubt as to where he intended to fix his residence in the Territory, and intimates that it was purely accidental that he stopped at Lawrence.⁵

NOTES.

1. Speer says, "One bright morning in April, 1855."—[Life of James H. Lane, p. 12, by John Speer.]

Andreas' History of Kansas says, "As early as April [1855] a most remarkable man had, unheralded and comparatively unknown to his neighbors, come to Kansas and settled near Lawrence."—[See page 106.]

2. This sketch was published in the *Crusader of Freedom*, February 3, 1858. The paper was published at Doniphan, by James Redpath. Only one chapter was published, as the paper was discontinued.

The majority of authorities say that he was born in Boone county, Kentucky. As Kentucky was a slave State, he could have had no object to serve in stating that he was born there if it was true that he was born in Indiana. Almost all his friends believed he was born in Kentucky. The theory that he was born in Indiana is of later date. Until 1860 we find it rarely stated that he was born in Indiana, and almost always that he was born in Kentucky. His earliest friends say Kentucky.

3. The authorities for the statements in this paragraph are many, from the newspaper files and clippings in the library of the

Historical Society to the statements of the associates and friends of General Lane. V. J. Lane, Esq., of Kansas City, Kansas, is of the same family ; he is a Pennsylvanian, and came to Kansas from Indiana.

4. In the History of Kansas by Andreas, p. 106, it is stated that "he left behind him a family which he did not love." He says in his sketch in the *Crusader of Freedom* that Mrs. Lane and the children accompanied him from Washington City, but that she became dissatisfied with frontier life and its hardships and returned to Indiana, but that no harsh feelings were entertained by either. They were divorced and remarried.

5. See Speer's Life of Gen. James H. Lane, p. 12.

BEGINS WORK.

“ Kansas is richer in historic lore than any other region of the Great West. Its traditions go back to the time of the Montezumas and the Spanish conquest of Mexico.”

James H. Lane came to Kansas a Democrat; he had never been anything else. His party in Indiana had honored him with high positions. He had no intention of transferring his allegiance to another political party when he arrived in Kansas. In his Chicago speech he says he came to Kansas to organize the Democratic party. It is said that he made a speech at Westport, Mo., where he had stopped while on his way to Kansas, in which he said that he would as soon buy a negro as a mule, and that the question of the success of slavery in Kansas depended upon the suitability of the country to produce hemp. This reference to the “negro and the mule” was a favorite form of expressing assent to slavery; it has been attributed to other men, at other times and places, among them, Governor Reeder. Lane afterwards admitted that when he came to Kansas he cared nothing about the great question of slavery. Paul was the greatest Apostle of Christianity, yet in the beginning he persecuted the Church. People generally supposed that the question of freedom or slavery in Kansas was almost settled when the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed. But far-seeing men like Seward, Sumner, Thayer,

and Robinson saw in this bill the beginning of the end of slavery. Lane saw the same thing, and gave expression to it in the address in which he announced that "Until then I am a crusader for Freedom." But when he arrived in the Territory there was comparative quiet. Only men well informed upon local and national conditions could foresee the whole conflict at that time; even these did not comprehend its magnitude and its consequences. Of the intentions of the Missourians he had probably heard, and, too, of their actions in the beginning; but no man could fully realize the conditions existing here until he came and saw for himself. Many a man came to Kansas in favor of slavery, and, like Lane, was made a crusader for freedom by the course of the Missourians.

On July 27th, 1855, a number of Democrats met in Lawrence for the purpose of organizing the Democratic party in Kansas Territory. Lane was president of the meeting. An address was formulated; it urged the necessity of the organization of the Democratic party upon national grounds, disclaimed the intention or right of the party to interfere with any domestic institution, affirmed the right of the people to manage their own affairs, denounced ballot-box stuffing, and invited people from all sections of the country to come and live in Kansas and help to manage its affairs. It was supposed that a strong party on the lines suggested could restore order and harmony. But these men misread the Missourians; only the exclusion of settlers from the free States could restore order satisfactorily to them.

One of the causes of the failure of this movement was the fact that at the time there were no national parties.

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill reduced the Democratic party to the rank of a sectional party; from the same cause the Whig party was in the process of dissolution. Butler says that Buchanan was elected by means of frauds committed by his party in Pennsylvania. Conditions of national strength or decay manifest themselves on the frontiers of a country before they can be observed elsewhere. In Kansas at this time there was the party of slavery and ruffianism, and the party of resistance to its campaigns of rapine and murder. In the latter were many Democrats—some from the extreme South.

The effort to organize the national Democratic party in Kansas was a flat failure; it met with no response from the people. They saw no hope for relief from its existence. The so-called Democratic newspapers of the border ridiculed the movement. Its advocates saw the futility of temporizing measures.

Lane was a politician by nature and education. His efforts to establish the national Democracy in Kansas, while consistent and legitimate, gave color to the rumor that he had come to the Territory as the vice-regent of Douglas, and to retrieve his political fortunes ruined in his old home by his support of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Upon the failure of this movement he abandoned the Democratic party. And this left him open to the charge of changing his party for the purpose of obtaining office. However, his abandonment of the Democratic party and his subsequent association with the Free-State movement should no more be considered a change of party for political preferment by Lane than it should of the men in the effort with him. Most of them became afterwards prominent

members of the Free-State party, and did valiant service in the battle for freedom.

The first Free-State convention in the Territory having a tendency to the formation of a distinct party was held in Lawrence, August 14th, 1855. Many meetings had been previously held under the auspices of calls from "Many citizens," and other similar names. One of considerable importance was held on June 25th, but it was more for the purpose of defying and denouncing the acts of the bogus Legislature and to announce that the true residents of Kansas would resist, and to declare for a free Territory and a free State, than to formulate a policy for future action.

Lane met with the convention of August 14th, and addressed it. His address was not well received. He was a stranger. Two weeks previously he had issued the national Democracy manifesto. And in his remarks he affirmed that he would again vote for the Kansas-Nebraska bill. He said, however, that he was as anxious as any member for a free constitution for Kansas and for Kansas to become a free State. He counseled moderation. He seemed the only man present who saw into the future and clearly comprehended the conditions of the whole country and the relations the conflict beginning in Kansas bore to it. Events of the preceding sixty days had revealed to him what others here did not see. "There is the existence of a Union hanging upon the action of the citizens of Kansas," he said.

Dr. Robinson reported a preamble and resolutions which were strong and conservative. They repudiated the bogus

Legislature then in session at Shawnee Mission, and counseled resistance to its acts. Lane opposed the resolutions as reported, and advised opposition to the Legislative acts in a legal way. Complete harmony, however, came of the wrangling, and the resolutions were adopted as Dr. Robinson had reported them. A delegate convention of Free-State men was recommended to be held at Big Springs on the 5th of September.

Lane was not a man to enter any cause with half a heart. Once enlisted, he worked with an energy such as no other man of his time possessed. His resolutions were suddenly formed; he was quick to decide; and to resolve was to act. He was not satisfied with his reception by the convention. With intuition he saw the true way to the hearts of the people. As the convention was adjourning he had it announced that he would speak that night in the hall in which it had met. He would, he said, denounce a noted leader of the ruffians who came to Kansas to despoil her settlers of their rights and liberties—often their lives.

Speer relates an incident in this connection, "which showed Lane's presence of mind. The meeting was in Robinson Hall, second floor. As he spoke to an audience charmed with his invective frontier eloquence, the building gave way. Instantly bringing his arms down with emphasis, he exclaimed, 'Stand still!' Not a soul moved. 'Now,' he continued, 'let two of our best mechanics go quietly out, examine the building, and report.' They did so, and reported that it had sunk three or four inches, but the foundation was solid and the building safe. The meeting went on."

This address was the first he delivered in Kansas in the style which was all his own. It created a sensation. It revealed to the people a man of wonderful powers. From the delivery of this address may be dated the beginning of his ascendancy in Kansas. It is fittingly described by one of his old acquaintances:

“He electrified a Free-State audience in Lawrence by announcing that he would speak the next evening on the political issues of the day, championing the Free-State cause. The crowd was immense. They came from their cabins on the prairies, from the valleys and the hills. They wanted to know from his own mouth the ‘Grim Chieftain’s’ position on political questions. The hour came. Lane was in his best mood. He was prepared for a vituperative, sarcastic, ironical and intensely personal speech. Such the crowd usually likes, or used to in the early frontier days, when men were ‘walking arsenals’ and crept over ‘volcanoes.’ Such an analysis of character was never heard before or since in Kansas. It was equal to John Randolph’s best effort in that line. His late Democratic associates were denounced, burlesqued, ridiculed and pilloried in a hysteria of laughter by an excited, cyclonic crowd. No one ever afterwards doubted where Lane stood. He crossed with a leap the Rubicon of radical politics and burned all bridges behind him. He was not baptized,—he was immersed in the foaming floods of radicalism. As the whitecaps rose higher and higher on the stormy and tumultuous political sea, Lane contended the stronger, and baffled them.”

THE BIG SPRINGS CONVENTION.

“Strike—for your altars and your fires;
Strike—for the green graves of your sires,
God—and your native land.”

The extent of this paper will not allow us to consider all the events by which Kansas was made free. Nor will it suffer us to give even a short account of all the eminent services of General Lane.

The convention held by the Free-State men at Big Springs, September 5th, has become historic. It was here that the men of Kansas, making party subservient to principle, rose above partisanship and became patriots.

Lane desired to be appointed delegate to this convention from Lawrence. He was opposed, but the opposition was not successful in defeating him. Many citizens of the Territory were not only against slavery, but were hostile to the negro, whether bond or free, and were in favor of laws which would forever exclude him from the State, whatever his condition. Lane held to this view. A great majority of the citizens of the Territory were of the same opinion, and were called “black-law” men. But the most radical opposition to the prevailing sentiment was in Lawrence, and this “black-law” tenet was the one thing urged against Lane’s selection as a delegate.

Big Springs was a celebrated camping-ground on the trail to California. It is in Douglas county, eleven miles

east of Topeka. But two persons with their families lived in its vicinity in September, 1855. They were W. Y. Roberts and W. R. Frost. The delegates, knowing that they would find no accommodations in the neighborhood, came prepared to camp on the ground. Their place of meeting was the open plain, and no fitter place to formulate a plan to battle for liberty than the broad prairie upon which the convention met could have been found.

Here were men from the refinements of New England homes, and with college diplomas in their pockets. New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois,—almost all the States north of Mason and Dixon's line were represented. Men from Missouri and from the foot-hills of the Cumberland Mountains were there. To some the name "abolitionist" was a reproach too vile to be borne; others gloried in it. Some were not opposed to the institution of slavery; others were for excluding all negroes. Some would have indorsed the bogus Legislature then in session; others would have taken up arms to drive its members out of the Territory into Missouri, where many of them lived. Some would have been content with the assurance of no further molestation from the ruffians; others would have exalted the flag to the stars, nor held back the crusade for freedom as long as a shackle bound a slave in America.

These diverse elements met for a definite purpose—to form a party to act in concert in the making of a free State. To harmonize these men with opinions so different and political principles so divergent and to enlist them in a common cause was no light task. For a long time it seemed impossible that it could be accomplished. Freedom trembled in the balance.

Much of the work to be done was assigned to committees. To a most delicate and difficult position was James Henry Lane assigned—that of chairman of the committee on resolutions. It was his duty to evolve a declaration of principles to which all would adhere in the coming struggle, here inaugurated, and to which all would subscribe now and be bound by in the dark and terrible days to come. In its preparation he consulted with every member of the convention, now reasoning with one, now pleading with another, and labored the whole night through.

The platform was reported by Lane on the morning of the second day of the convention. Beyond a few remarks, general in their nature, and explanatory of the work submitted, Lane did not indulge himself on reporting it. The resolutions were bitterly attacked and warmly discussed. Failure seemed imminent. "At this critical crisis Judge Smith arose and began a speech of great earnestness and feeling. With his white locks trembling in the wind, and tears streaming down his furrowed cheeks, he besought them in the spirit of a patriarch and a patriot, to cast aside all minor differences, and to unite in one common struggle toward rescuing Kansas from the vile dominion of slavery." Then Lane arose, the last man to speak, and delivered a thrilling, telling speech which swayed the men of the convention as the wind sways the grass of the prairie. And the historian records that the platform was adopted unanimously and with enthusiastic cheers. Every boy and girl in Kansas should study it carefully, for on its declaration of principles did the fathers of Kansas stand before the world, confident of the ultimate triumph of their cause. It stated the wrongs they had suffered and the end

they hoped to accomplish. And time justified their hopes and vindicated their action.

Another committee reported resolutions. Its chairman was the late Judge James S. Emery, of Lawrence. It had been appointed to consider the attitude to be assumed by the people of the Territory toward the bogus Legislature. The report eloquently recited the usurpations and outrages perpetrated by that illegal and bogus body, and declared "we will endure and submit to these laws no longer than the best interests of the Territory require, as the least of two evils, and will resist them to a bloody issue as soon as we ascertain that peaceable remedies shall fail, and forcible resistance shall furnish any reasonable prospect of success."

A candidate for Delegate to Congress was nominated. This honor was bestowed upon Governor Reeder, who made a brilliant address in accepting it, in which he quoted effectively the lines at the head of this chapter.

The convention to be held in Topeka on the 19th of September to consider the propriety of forming a State constitution was indorsed.

A committee consisting of James H. Lane, Samuel C. Pomeroy (afterwards Lane's colleague in the United States Senate), and G. W. Brown, was appointed to wait on Governor Shannon and deliver to him a copy of the proceedings of the convention.

The Hon. H. Miles Moore was one of the delegates to the Big Springs convention, and sums up the results of its work in the following eloquent statement:

"It had in truth and in fact accomplished a great and glorious work for the Free-State cause in Kansas: it had

fully organized the party in the Territory, put forth its platform, nominated a Delegate to Congress, appointed a day for his election, and indorsed the constitutional convention called to be held at Topeka on the approaching 19th of September. It had flung its banner to the breeze inscribed in letters of living light: KANSAS MUST AND SHALL BE FREE, PEACEABLY IF WE CAN, BUT FORCIBLY IF WE MUST. NO SLAVE SHALL LONGER CLANK HIS CHAINS ON HER VIRGIN SOIL. The days of secret Free-State meetings called by 'Many Citizens,' 'Sundry Citizens,' etc., held in Lawrence or elsewhere, with the names of the participants suppressed or not announced, was past, thank God! From this time henceforth their names were to be published broadcast and known and read of all men; no skulking now, but a fight in the open and to the death if need be. The Big Springs convention had given new life and inspiration to the Free-State settlers throughout the Territory, where before a spirit of despondency and apathy had prevailed. Hope and courage took on new life. Free-State meetings were held in many towns and settlements in the Territory."

From this date Lane was the recognized leader of the Free-State movement in Kansas. He threw his soul into the work of the liberation of his adopted Territory from the usurpers who had sworn to enslave her. He was here, there, everywhere. Sometimes he could not hire a horse to ride; then he would walk miles and miles to attend a Free-State meeting. He went about speaking as one having authority. A stranger in the Territory in April, he was known to the whole people in October. They came to

depend upon him and upon his superhuman efforts in their behalf. They hurraled for Jim Lane. They seemed to have known him all their lives. It was only necessary to have it known that Lane was to be in a certain town or at a certain cross-roads at a certain time; all the people in reach were sure to be there to hear him. He never failed with a Kansas audience. And woe to the man who had maligned him or the cause he represented!

No other man who ever lived in Kansas had the power over an audience possessed by Lane. His oratory affected men differently, as they were differently constituted. Some wept; some whooped and yelled; some cursed and swore; some must needs leave the room and walk about in the fresh air, to such a pitch were they wrought; some sat transfixed and mute, so absorbed that they were oblivious to every external thing, even to their own existence, hanging upon his every word and action. Upon one point all were agreed: they *believed* whatever he said—they *did* whatever he commanded.

It was said that he should never speak in Wyandotte. One day he appeared there, without having sent previous notice. In the afternoon it was noised abroad that Lane was in town. It was with the utmost difficulty that a hall could be secured for him. Trouble began as soon as he left his hotel to repair to the place of meeting. He was surrounded by a mob, some armed with ropes, others with pistols and knives. On a street corner it became necessary for him to appeal to the mob to postpone its vengeance until it had heard what he had to say. He had not a dozen friends in the audience which assembled. He began his speech amid jeers and howls of execration, and was

urged "to make it brief," as they wanted to escort him to a neighboring cottonwood tree for a further and final interview. But gradually a calm settled upon his audience. At the end of ten minutes he had won but a single applause; then came another; and still another; then a full round of applause; and in a quarter of an hour he was master of the situation. In half an hour every man was whooping and hurrahing for Jim Lane, and would have turned their ropes, their pistols and their knives upon anyone he might have suggested, had occasion arisen. In this meeting was the famous Grey-Eyes incident; it is too well known to require repetition here. It is well told in Speer's *Life of Lane*.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF KANSAS TERRITORY.

“ Nations are the same as children —
Always living in the future,
Living in their aspirations and their hopes ;
Picturing some future greatness,
Reaching forth for future prizes,
With a wish for higher aims and grander scopes.”

The delegate convention at Topeka, September 19th, 1855, did an important work for Kansas. It fixed the date for the election of delegates to form a constitution upon which admission as a State was to be sought. It fixed, also, the date of the meeting of the Constitutional Convention.

Lane did not arrive in time to attend the session of the first day. His unexplained absence was construed by some to indicate a weak adherence to the Free-State cause. But all day he was hastening toward the convention; he arrived at dark, having ridden sixty miles since daylight. While tying his horse a crowd began to assemble around him; in five minutes he was addressing a street audience of large size where but a few moments before there was only an occasional passer-by.

In addition to its other duties this convention provided for the appointment of a committee of seven men “ to have a general superintendence of the affairs of the Territory

so far as regards the organization of a State Government, which committee shall be styled The Executive Committee of Kansas Territory."

Those appointed upon this most important committee were James H. Lane, Joel K. Goodin, Cyrus K. Holliday, Marcus J. Parrott, Philip C. Schuyler, George W. Smith, and George W. Brown. The committee organized by the election of James H. Lane as president and Joel K. Goodin as secretary. By its powers this committee was virtually a Provisional Government of Kansas Territory. Upon it devolved the power to call elections, and to declare the results thereof. It was to find the ways and means to make Kansas a free State, should the movement now entered upon result in her admission to the Union. In the meantime it was to lead in the battle with the cohorts from Missouri who were planning their subjugation.

Kansas was now entering upon the most critical and crucial period of her history. On the 3d of October the pro-slavery people met in Leavenworth and took the preliminary steps in the formation of the "Law and Order party." The bold stand made by the Free-State people for their rights and their announced intention to not obey the laws of the bogus Legislature indicated that the subjugation of Kansas was to be more of a task than at first supposed. It was realized by the advocates of slavery that the "Blue Lodges" of Missouri must be supplemented in their work by a strong organization upon the soil of Kansas; it was hoped that the full and free coöperation of the two bodies might result in the accomplishment of the object they so devoutly prayed for.

On the 14th of November the Law and Order party was

organized in Leavenworth, pursuant to a call issued by a committee appointed at the preliminary meeting. Governor Shannon was made president of the meeting which formed this party. The resolutions adopted denounced the work of the Constitutional Convention which had met at Topeka October 23d, as treasonable. The true intent of the party thus organized was set forth by one of the speakers when he said: "We must enforce the laws, though we resort to the force of arms; trust to our rifles and make the blood flow as freely as do the turbid waters of the Missouri." And the sentiment expressed in this explicit statement bore fruit at a later day, as the ruined homes and murdered Free-State men did testify.

The Executive Committee conducted the affairs of the Territory in a conservative way in the interest of the Free-State people, a majority of the actual settlers in Kansas. But the legal government, the one having the recognition of the Federal Government, was vested in Governor Shannon and the officers appointed by the President. This made the government of the Executive Committee and that under the Topeka Constitution which succeeded it revolutionary or semi-revolutionary governments. It required great tact, ability and address to avoid a conflict with the Federal authorities. The safety of those representing the governments called into being by the "Topeka movement" lay in the common knowledge that they were only trying to establish a State Government in accordance with all the rights of American citizens, and working to secure the recognition of the Federal Government by lawful and peaceful means. No attempt to exercise any administrative functions of the governments established was ever made. None

was ever contemplated until the assent of the Federal Government had been obtained.

Lane was elected president of the Topeka Constitutional Convention, which met October 23d. It continued in session until the 11th of November. The constitution framed by it was a good one, and was ratified December 15th, 1855. On January 15th, 1856, State officers and a Legislature were elected. The Legislature convened on the 4th of March, and established all the forms of a State Government. Governor Charles Robinson sent in an able message. The Legislature elected as United States Senators James H. Lane and Andrew H. Reeder.

The meeting of the Legislature terminated the existence of the Executive Committee of Kansas Territory. It made a report of its doings, and closed up its affairs. It incurred expenses amounting to \$15,265.90, and issued "scrip" in payment. It had led the Free-State cause through the ordeal of establishing a State Government, and through the Wakarusa War. This committee was composed of the ablest men of the Territory, and Lane was the moving spirit in it. It "did in a most wonderfully efficient manner the work of a provisional and semi-revolutionary government, through the darkest and most disordered and dangerous period of the Territorial history. . . . It seemed to have within itself the combination of qualities required to plan and execute whatever the exigencies of the times demanded in the interest of the Free-State party."

The records of the Committee are in the archives of the State Historical Society.

THE WAKARUSA WAR.

“ One more look at that dead face,
Of his murder's ghastly trace !
One more kiss, oh, widowed one !
Lay your left hands on his brow,
Lift your right hands up, and vow
That his work shall yet be done ! ”
—Whittier's “ *The Burial of Barber.* ”

The darkest hours of Kansas history were those from November 20th, 1855, to January 1st, 1857,—a little more than one year. What the noble and devoted people of the Territory suffered in this short time can never be written. Some enumeration of deeds can be made, but the murder, pillage, and rapine were not the only evils, great as they were. The terror of the lone wife as she waited in intense agony for the return of the husband gone to the assistance of the neighbor being despoiled of his rights—perhaps his life; the dread that brutal bands might break in and murder herself and her children in his absence; the despair of the widow, and her grief and her tears when her husband was borne to his desolate cabin stark and cold in death;—these things cannot be recorded in the books of men.

The period indicated includes the Wakarusa War, and the war of the summer of 1856, in which Lawrence was destroyed by Sheriff Jones and U. S. Senator David R. Atchison, with their hordes of border-ruffians. By the

summer of 1857 the Free-State settlers were so increased in numbers that life and property were more safe. From that time the Missourians became less fierce in their attacks, if even a little more expert in their stealing, and gradually abandoned the contest, leaving Kansas to get to the stars without their assistance.

It has been said that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. The trials of the Free-State settlers, their sufferings, their blood crying from the ground, were some of the causes which enabled them to finally triumph over all obstacles. The outrage and injustice heaped upon them gave them the sympathy of all the Northern States. The triumph of the people over such barriers is an achievement without a parallel in history. These were the difficulties which Kansas surmounted to reach the stars.

The border-ruffians supposed that each invasion had conquered Kansas and the "abolitionists." But no sooner were they across the border than resolutions were passed condemning their actions. These were sent East and published in newspapers in sympathy with the Free-State movement. This was a strange kind of warfare and defense to people who regarded a knowledge of the alphabet a crime next in heinousness to that of being an "abolitionist." At first they ridiculed it, but finally it became a grievance hard to be borne. One of the reasons which they gave for sacking Lawrence was, that "they passed resolutions there and published them in Yankee newspapers." The brave and manly actions of the Free-State men in those troublous times is a heritage richer than gold and pearls, and more valuable to coming generations than rubies and fine gold. Seward said that when men

forgot the lessons of liberty they should come to Lawrence to re-learn them.

“Kansas with her woes and glory”

is destined to live in song and story.

The postmaster of Westport, Mo., was a certain Jones. It was his one cherished ambition to be instrumental in “wiping out” the Free-State town of Lawrence. To this desire is directly due the Wakarusa War. The murder of Charles W. Dow and the events growing out of that horrible deed are well known to all.* He was a good citizen, an inoffensive and peaceable man who had committed no crime greater than coming to the prairies of Kansas a Free-State man to make himself a home. His murderer, a Missouri ruffian, fled to Westport. He surrendered himself to the said Jones, who had recently been appointed by the bogus Legislature as sheriff of Douglas county, where Dow was murdered. The ideas of justice entertained by the “Law and Order party” may be comprehended when it is known that instead of taking measures to punish the murderer, Jones caused a warrant to be issued for the arrest of the next friend of the murdered man.

Jones had a purpose in this. He undoubtedly instigated the murder. His purpose was to so exasperate the Free-State men that they would rescue his prisoner, which would give him a pretext to call for the military and with it work his will on Lawrence, where he designed that the rescue should occur. The rescue, however, was not made in that town, but on a road some miles away. This, while a disappointment, did not stop Jones. Even if the rescue

* Read Spring's “Kansas,” p. 86, and following.

had not occurred in Lawrence, he was sure the rescuers would go there, and this was sufficient for his purpose. He could still have some color of excuse for his revenge.

Jones immediately sent a runner to Westport to cry for aid. Later he made a requisition upon Governor Shannon for three thousand men "to carry out the laws." The Governor ordered General Richardson to collect as large a force as possible and with it report to Jones. Inflammatory and false statements were spread along the border. A forged letter purporting to have been written by Secretary (afterward acting Governor) Woodson was sent into Platte county to further arouse the Missourians. In response, General Atchison hastened to the field. It was said in Missouri that pro-slavery settlers in Kansas were being murdered by the Free-State men. The fury of the Free-State men was said to be terrible. Governor Shannon issued a proclamation. Men and money were raised all along the border "to help Jones." Missourians from every walk of life hastened to arms. One bloodthirsty editor left his paper, taking only time to pen a hasty notice that he was off to the war and expected to wade waist-deep in the blood of "abolitionists."

The Free-State people at Lawrence appointed a Committee of Safety, and took what precautions they could to protect their homes from the fury of the lawless ruffians gathering to overwhelm them with complete destruction. Dr. Robinson was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces mustered for defense. Lane was appointed second in command, and given charge of the field. He fortified the town, and constantly drilled the Free-State settlers who

came in to assist in repelling the invaders should they attack the town, as it was expected they would.

The determined stand of the Lawrence people and their resolution not to stand meekly and be butchered was unexpected by the border-ruffians, who had been taught that the "abolitionists" could not fight, and would not if they could. They hesitated to attack, and most of them remained in their camp at Franklin, four miles away. Another cause for their hesitation was their dread of the Sharps' rifles with which the Free-State men were armed. These rifles had been supplied to them by the Emigrant Aid Society and other similar associations. The terror inspired by these guns was really frightful. It was believed they could be fired sixty times a minute, and that they would kill a man a mile away.

The Free-State men sent a deputation to wait upon Governor Shannon, who was by it first informed of the merits of the pretensions of Jones. To his credit be it said, that Governor Shannon did what he could to amend the errors into which he had fallen. He went to Franklin, and finally to Lawrence, in the rôle of a peace-maker.

On December 6th Thomas W. Barber was wantonly murdered in a most outrageous manner as he was returning to his home from Lawrence, where he had been laboring in the trenches and drilling in the ranks of her defenders. He was shot by George W. Clark, Indian Agent, probably for the sole purpose of exasperating the Free-State men to attack the camp of ruffians at Franklin. If they became the aggressors, Jones's course would be justified. A most concise account of this murder can be found in Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*. Suitable tablets in the National Hall

of Representatives at Washington and in the Hall of Representatives in the Capitol building at Topeka commemorate the martyrdom of Barber. His innocent blood crying from the ground moved men to seek a deep revenge in after years.

The efforts of Governor Shannon, and the Sharps' rifles in the hands of Free-State men, bore fruit. A treaty of peace was concluded at Lawrence on the 8th of December, 1855, signed by Shannon, and, on behalf of the Free-State men, by Robinson and Lane. The Missourians returned to their lairs, and the defenders of Lawrence were discharged. They were addressed by Robinson and Lane. Lane said in part:

"FELLOW-SOLDIERS: You assembled to vindicate the right—to defend this city and inhabitants of the Territory against threatened destruction. Well and gallantly have you discharged that duty. The tocsin of war is no longer heard from the besieging army; they have returned across the border from whence they came; our fortifications are not demolished; those beautiful buildings still remain to ornament our city and to accommodate our citizens. You still retain the rifles you know so well how to use. The ladies—God bless them!—are still among us, to encourage manly and chivalric deeds.

"You have won a glorious victory by your industry, skill, courage and forbearance. In these fortifications, wrought as if by magic, you took your position, there determined never to surrender while a man was left alive to pull a trigger; with a desperate and wily foe almost in your midst, you restrained your fire—determined to continue them in the wrong, and compel them to commence hostilities—to take all the responsibility of a battle which

you believed would shake the Union to its very basis. The besieging army had time to ascertain our true position—found that position just and honorable; that there was no good cause of complaint against us; and having marched into Kansas, marched out again, leaving us occupying the identical position we did when the invasion was made.

“While congratulating ourselves upon our success, let us not forget the gallant Barber, who fell in the discharge of his duty. He was a noble spirit, worthy of the cause for which he bled. Had he fallen upon the battle-field in manly combat, we could not have complained. While we forgive, we cannot forget his cowardly and brutal murder. Long may his manly bearing be remembered by all true men. . . .

“For days and weeks we were impressed with the belief that our hands were to be inbrued with the blood of our brethren, while we were determined manfully and to the death to defend our hearthstones. Our hearts bled in contemplating the dreadful alternative. The fearful crisis is past, and, we hope, never to return. Our Missouri friends understand us and our cause better than when they came, and will not again permit themselves to be stirred up in anger against us.

“That beloved Union, for the safety of which we trembled, will not again, we trust, be imperiled by a foreign force from a sister State invading our Territory. . . .”

LANE IN THE EAST.

“ I could a tale unfold whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul.”

Sometime in March, 1856, Lane left Kansas to make a tour of the principal cities of the Free States in the interest of the Free-State settlers. Other Free-State men went on a similar mission—some of them with Lane. One noble woman engaged in this work—Mrs. Sara T. L. Robinson, wife of Dr. Charles Robinson.

But one meeting can be noticed here—that held in Chicago, Saturday evening, May 31st. This chapter is composed of extracts from the speech delivered by Lane upon this occasion, and comments thereon, and is quoted from Andreas' excellent history of Kansas—a work long since out of print. This account will be found on pages 136–137.

One of the earliest and most enthusiastic Kansas meetings held was at Chicago, Saturday evening, May 31st, in Court-House Square. The Kansas speakers were Colonel James H. Lane and Mr. Hinman, “ fresh from the smoking ruins of Lawrence.” The *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 2, gave a two-column report of the meeting under such headlines as these: “ Illinois Alive and Awake ! ” “ 10,000 Freemen in Council ! ” “ 2,000 Old Hunkers on Hand ! ” “ \$15,000 Subscribed for Kansas ! ”

Hon. Norman Judd presided, and made the opening speech. He was followed by Francis A. Hoffman. J. C. Vaughan, in an eloquent speech, presented the claims of Kansas for immediate relief, and offered the following resolutions:

“Resolved, That the people of Illinois will aid the Freedom of Kansas.

“Resolved, That they will send a colony of 500 actual settlers to that Territory, and provision them for one year.

“Resolved, That these settlers will invade no man’s rights, but will maintain their own.

“Resolved, That we recommend the adoption of a similar policy to the people of all the States of the Union, ready and willing to aid; and also a thorough concert and coöperation among them, through committees of correspondence, on this subject.

“Resolved, That an Executive Committee of seven, viz., J. C. Vaughan, Mark Skinner, George W. Dale, I. N. Arnold, N. B. Judd, and E. I. Tinkham, be appointed, with full powers to carry into execution these resolutions.

“Resolved, That Tuthill King, R. M. Hough, C. B. Waite, J. H. Dunham, Dr. Gibbs, J. T. Ryerson and W. B. Egan be a finance committee to raise and distribute material aid.”

Following the reading of the resolutions, they were seconded by Peter Page, Esq., and passed amidst the most enthusiastic and prolonged cheering.

Next, Hon. W. B. Egan, one of the most eloquent Irish orators of the city, spoke to his Irish fellow-citizens, rousing them to the highest pitch of excitement.

The President then introduced Col. James H. Lane, of Kansas. As he rose up and came forward, he was greeted with an outburst of applause from the crowd that continued for some minutes, during which time he stood statue-like, with mouth firm set, gazing with those wondrous eyes down into the very heart of the excited throng. Before the

applause had subsided sufficiently for his voice to be heard, the fascinating spell of his presence had already seized upon the whole vast audience, and for the next hour he controlled its every motion—moving to tears, to anger, to laughter, to scorn, to the wildest enthusiasm, at his will. No man of his time possessed such magnetic power over a vast miscellaneous assembly of men as he. With two possible exceptions (Patrick Henry and S. S. Prentiss), no American orator ever equaled him in effective stump-speaking, or by the irresistible power by which he held his audience in absolute control. On that night he was at his best. It was doubtless the ablest and most effective oratorical effort of his life. No full report of it was given at the time. One of the hundreds of young men made “Kansas crazy” by the speech, and who forthwith left all and followed him to Kansas, thus wrote of it twenty years after: *

“He was fresh from the scenes of dispute in the belligerent Territory. He made a characteristic speech, teeming with invective extravagance, impetuosity, denunciation and eloquence. The grass on the prairies is swayed no more easily by the winds than was this vast assemblage by the utterances of this speaker. They saw the contending factions in the Territory through his glasses. The Pro-Slavery party appeared like demons and assassins; the Free-State party like heroes and martyrs. He infused them with his warlike spirit and enthusiastic ardor for the practical champions of freedom. Their response for his appeals for succor for the struggling freemen was immediate and decisive.”

* Col. S. S. Prouty.

It is doubtful if the writer of the above, or any other of the ten thousand hearers of that night, can recall a single sentence of his speech. The emotions aroused were so overwhelming as to entirely obliterate from memory the spoken words. A few broken extracts are preserved below. He began :

“ I have been sent by the people of Kansas to plead their cause before the people of the North. Most people have a very erroneous idea of the people of Kansas. They think they are mostly from Massachusetts. They are really more than nine-tenths from the Northwestern States. There are more men from Ohio, Illinois and Indiana, than from all New England and New York combined.”

Speaking of the President, he said :

“ Of Franklin Pierce I have a right to talk as I please, having made more than one hundred speeches advocating his election, and having also as one of the Electors of Indiana, cast the electoral vote of that State for him. Frank was, in part, the creature of my own hands; and a pretty job they made of it. The one pre-eminent wish of mine now is that Frank may be hurled from the White House; and that the nine memorials sent him from the outraged citizens of Kansas detailing their wrongs, may be dragged out of his iron box.”

Of the climate of Kansas, he said :

“ Kansas is the Italy of America. The corn and the vine grow there so gloriously that they seem to be glad and to thank the farmers for planting them. It is a climate

like that of Illinois, but milder. Invalids, instead of going to Italy, when the country became known would go to Kansas, to gather new life beneath its fair sky and from its balmy airs. The wild grapes of Kansas are as large and luscious as those that grow in the vineyards of southern France."

He alluded to Col. W. H. Bissell, then the Republican candidate for Governor of Illinois, as follows:

"It is true, I was side by side with your gallant and noble Bissell at Buena Vista and in Congress. I wish I could describe to you the scene on the morning preceeding that glorious battle. On a ridge stood Clay, Bissell, McKee, Hardin, and myself. Before us were twenty thousand armed enemies. It was a beautiful morning, and the sun shone bright upon the polished lances and muskets of the enemy, and their banners waved proudly in the breeze. In our rear the lofty mountains reached skyward, and their bases swarmed with enemies ready to rob the dead and murder the wounded when the battle was over. Around us stood five ragged regiments of volunteers,—two from Illinois, two from Indiana, and one from Kentucky; they were bone of your bone, blood of your blood, and it was only when you were near enough to look into their eyes that you could see the d——l was in them. It did not occur to me then that I should be indicted for treason because I loved liberty better than slavery."

He then gave a warm and glowing tribute to Col. Bissell, his brother-in-arms.

Then followed a most vivid and awful narrative of the

outrages perpetrated upon the Free States' men by the Missouri ruffians; so vivid that the Osawatomic murders seemed but merited retaliation, and most sweet revenge to his excited hearers.

"The Missourians [said he] poured over the border in thousands, with bowie-knives in their boots, their belts bristling with revolvers, their guns upon their shoulders, and three gallons of whisky per vote in their wagons. When asked where they came from, their reply was, 'From Missouri;' when asked, 'What are you here for?' their reply was, 'Come to vote.' If anyone should go there and attempt to deny these things, or apologize for them, the Missourians would spit upon him. They claim to own Kansas, to have a right to vote there and to make its laws, and to say what its institutions shall be."

Col. Lane held up the volume of the Statutes of Kansas, then proceeded to read from it, commenting as he read:

"The Legislature first passed acts virtually repealing the larger portion of the Constitution of the United States, and then repealed, as coolly as one would take a chew of tobacco, provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Of this bill I have a right to speak—God forgive me for so enormous and dreadful a political sin—I voted for the bill. I thought the people were to have the right to form their own institutions, and went to Kansas to organize the Democratic party there, and make the State Democratic, but the Missouri invaders poured in—the ballot-boxes were desecrated—the bogus Legislature was elected by armed mobs: you know the rest.

"The Pro-Slavery fragment of the Democratic party

talk much about Knownothingism. It is their song day and night. Well, these Kansas law-makers have gone to work and repealed at once the clause in the Nebraska Bill that gave the right to vote to foreigners in Kansas on declaring their intention to become citizens, and made it requisite for them to have lived in the Territory five years and to take the final oath; and at the same time, they made all Indians who adopted the habits of the white men, voters at once. And what was the distinguishing habit of white men? Why, it was understood to be drinking whisky. All that was necessary to naturalize a Kansas Indian was to get him drunk. What Knownothing lodge ever went so far in their nativism as this?—made foreigners in the Territory wait five years to become citizens, and enfranchising the drunken, thieving Indians at once, one and all !

“The Pro-Slavery fragment of the Democratic party also delights in the term ‘negro-worshipper,’ to designate Free-State men. I will show you that these Pro-Slavery men are of all negro-worshippers the most abject. According to the Kansas code [Col. Lane read from the book, giving page and section], if a person kidnaps a white child, the utmost penalty is six months in jail—if a negro baby, the penalty is death. Who worships negroes, and slave negro babies at that? To kidnap a white child into slavery—six months in jail; to kidnap a negro into freedom—death!”

He concluded his scathing review of the infamous code as follows :

“Is there an Illinoisan who says enforce these monstrous iniquities called laws? Show me the man! The

people of Kansas never will obey them. They are being butchered, and one and all will die first! As for myself, I am going back to Kansas, where there is an indictment pending against me for high treason. Were the rope about my neck, I would say that as to the Kansas code, it shall not be enforced—*never*—NEVER!”

Following, he argued, elaborately and conclusively, the right of Kansas to come into the Union as a Free State “now.” He closed his speech with a detailed account of the murders and outrages perpetrated upon the Free-State settlers, giving, with a masterly power of tragic delineation which brought each particular horror, blood-red and distinct, before the eyes of the excited throng. He knew of fourteen cases of tar and feathering—“the most awful and humiliating outrage ever inflicted on man.” He told of Dow, shot dead while holding up his hands as a sign of his defenselessness; lying, like a dead dog, in the road all the long day, until in the evening his friends found his body, dabbled in his life-blood, and bore it away. Barber, unarmed, shot on the highway, brought dead to Lawrence, where his frantic wife, a childless widow, ’mid shrieks of anguish, kissed the pallid lips that to her were silent evermore. Brown, stabbed, pounded, hacked with a hatchet, bleeding and dying, kicked into the presence of his wife, where in agony he breathed out his life—she, now a maniac. A voice from the crowd called, “Who was Brown?” Lane continued:

“Brown was as gallant a spirit as ever went to his God! And a Democrat at that—not one of the Pro-Slavery fragment, though. For the blood of free men shed on the soil

of Kansas—for the blood now flowing in the streets of Lawrence—for every drop which has been shed since the people asked to be admitted as a State, the Administration is responsible. Before God and this people I arraign Frank Pierce as a murderer!

“In conclusion, I have only this to say: The people of Kansas have undying faith in the justice of their cause—in the eternal life of the truths maintained—and they ask the people of Illinois to do for them that which seems to them just.”

The *Chicago Tribune*, in its report of the meeting, June 2, says:

“We regret we can only give a meager outline of the eloquent and telling effort of Col. Lane. He was listened to with the deepest interest and attention by the vast throng, and as he detailed the series of infamous outrages inflicted upon the free men of Kansas, the people were breathless with mortification and anger, or wild with enthusiasm to avenge those wrongs. During Col. Lane’s address, he was often interrupted by the wildest applause, or by deep groans for Pierce, Douglas, Atchison, and the doughfaces and ruffians who had oppressed Kansas, and by cheers for Sumner, Robinson, and other noble men who have dared and suffered for liberty. . . .

“Language is inadequate to give the reader a conception of the effect of the recital of that tale of woe which men from Kansas had to tell; the flashing eyes, the rigid muscles, and the frowning brows told a story to the looker-on that types cannot repeat. From the fact that an immense crowd kept their feet from 8 till 12 o’clock, that even then

they were unwilling the speakers should cease, or that the contributions should stop; from the fact that workingmen, who have only the wages of the day's bread, emptied the contents of their pockets into the general fund; that sailors threw in their earnings; that widows sent up their savings; that boys contributed their pence; that those who had no money gave what they had to spare; that those who had nothing to give offered to go as settlers and do their duty to Freedom on that now consecrated soil; that every bold declaration for liberty, every allusion to the Revolution of '76, and to the possibility that the battles of that period were to be fought over again in Kansas, were received as those things most to be desired—something of the tone and temper of the meeting may be imagined. . . .

“The effect of the meeting will be felt in deeds. Be the consequences what they may, the men of Illinois are resolved to act. . . .

“Take it with its attending circumstances—the shortness of the notice, the character of the assembled multitude, and the work which was accomplished—it was the most remarkable meeting ever held in the State. We believe it will inaugurate a new era in Illinois. We believe it is the precursor of the liberation of Kansas from the hand of the oppressor, and of an all-pervading political revolution at home.

“About half-past 12, Sunday having come, the meeting unwillingly adjourned, and the crowd reluctantly went home. At a later hour, the Star-Spangled Banner and the Marseillaise, sung by bands of men whose hearts were full of the spirit of these magnificent hymns, were the only evidences of the event that we have endeavored to describe.”

LANE'S ARMY OF THE NORTH.

“Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more,
Or close the wall up with our English dead !
In peace there 's nothing so becomes a man
As modest stillness and humility ;
But when the blast of war blows in our ears,
Then imitate the action of the tiger :
Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood,
Disguise fair nature with hard-favour'd rage ;
Then lend the eye a terrible aspect ;
Let it pry through the portage of the head
Like the brass cannon ; let the brow o'erwhelm it
As fearfully as doth a galled rock
O'erhang and jutty his confounded base,
Swill'd with the wild and wasteful ocean.”

The effect of the campaign in the North began to manifest itself on the border, where the ruffians were ever on guard. Upon the resumption of navigation on the Missouri river in the spring of 1856, emigrants to Kansas began to arrive at the border towns. They were from the free States, and at first were in parties so small that the pro-slavery people did not molest them. A small quantity of ammunition and some guns may have reached the Free-State settlers by this route.

Rumor had borne into the dark recesses of ruffianism some intimation of the magnitude of Lane's work in the North. The emigrants passing up the river to Kansas were taken as a sort of advance guard of what came to be known as “Lane's Army of the North.” It was decided

that they must be stopped. Boats were searched; emigrants for Kansas were turned back or made prisoners. The arms consigned to the Free-State men were confiscated. The tide thus early setting toward Kansas was temporarily checked. But it found a new route, through Iowa and Nebraska, and came into Kansas from the northward. The arms intended for the Free-State settlers were consigned by way of this route; some of them reached their destination.

In Kansas affairs were approaching a white heat. Jones was furious when his prey was snatched from his paws by Shannon's conclusion of the Wakarusa war, though it is doubtful whether he would have attacked Lawrence when he found the Free-State men so determined to protect themselves, armed as they were with Sharps' rifles. But he pretended that he would. He raged in the "Blue Lodges" of Missouri, and fumed against Shannon's action. He sought another occasion to try the "bowie-knife and revolver cure" for "abolitionism" upon the hated Lawrence. In this he had recourse to his unserved writs. Two of the party which rescued Branson were Samuel N. Wood and Samuel J. Tappan. He went to Lawrence to arrest them, and was resisted by a half-jovial, half-in-earnest crowd of Free-State men who jostled him and permitted his prisoners to escape. At night he was shot, though not dangerously hurt. The assassin acted upon his own responsibility, and was unknown to the people of the town. They disavowed his action, condemned it, and offered a reward for his arrest.

The attempted assassination of Jones was the opportunity of the Missourians. Jones was reported dead. The border was aflame.

At this time, too, it was determined to devote some attention to the officers elected under the Topeka Constitution. These officers had attempted to perform none of the functions of the offices which they held, and it was well known that they had no intention of doing so until so authorized by an enabling act of Congress. In May the grand jury of Douglas county was instructed to indict them for treason, and did so. It was thought that Dr. Robinson could be of great service to Kansas by making a tour of New England. On his way there he was arrested at Lexington, Mo., but Mrs. Robinson was allowed to proceed. She did a noble work for the Free-State cause, accomplishing fully that which had been assigned to her husband. Dr. Robinson was returned to Kansas, and, with others, held a prisoner for four months at Leecompton. Governor Reeder fled in disguise. It was a matter of concern along the border that Reeder escaped, that Lane could not be arrested, and that there existed no sufficient excuse for the immediate murder of Dr. Robinson.

The United States Marshal issued a proclamation May 11th, 1856, calling for "law-abiding" citizens to appear at Leecompton "in sufficient numbers for the execution of the law." Kansas was invaded again by Missourians. The hordes poured again over the border. Free-State settlers were everywhere arrested and distressed. None of their leaders were in position to organize resistance, being absent from the Territory or under arrest. The long-desired opportunity to destroy Lawrence was at hand. On May 21, Jones led in a body of armed men and destroyed the Free-State hotel. He also burned the dwelling of Dr. Robinson, and destroyed the offices of the Free-State newspapers. The town was pillaged.

The Topeka Legislature was dispersed July 4, and the Congressional Committee of Investigation was threatened with hanging by "Captain Hemp." It was virtually driven from the Territory. Anarchy reigned.

By August 1st armed bands of Missourians and their allies from other slave States were in almost undisputed possession of Kansas Territory. They were encamped and fortified at various points. Osawatimie was at the mercy of a company of Georgians a short distance away, who lived by pillaging the Free-State men. Twelve miles southwest of Lawrence, on Washington creek, on the claim of J. P. Saunders, the Missourians had fortified themselves in what they called "Fort Saunders." At Franklin they had a blockhouse, defended with a cannon. This was a sort of headquarters from which bands went forth to raid the settlers, and to which they carried their plunder. Two miles south of Lecompton Col. H. T. Titus turned his house into a fort and garrisoned it with Missourians. These posts had been maintained by the Missourians all summer. Each was a center from which armed bands harried the surrounding Free-State settlers, and to which the fruits of robbery were carried.

The policy of inaction, and the rôle of non-combatants and martyrs, could no longer be borne by the Free-State men. It seemed that their extermination had been decided upon by the relentless Missourians. John Brown took the field. As long as Free-State settlers could be murdered with impunity in Kansas, murder was lightly regarded by the pro-slavery invaders. When John Brown with his Bible and his gun stood in the breach, it became a different matter. When he met the Missourians at Black

Jack and administered Cromwellian knocks to ruffian pates, pro-slavery people everywhere were shocked at his impiety. Whitfield, the dull and heavy pro-slavery Delegate to Congress, took the field with a large band of cut-throats at his heels, and pretended to be searching for Brown; he was very careful not to find him.

The Free-State men made a demonstration against the fort of the Georgians near Osawatimie, August 5th. They outnumbered their assailants, but fled in haste to Fort Saunders, leaving a portion of their supplies. Thus reinforced, Fort Saunders became a formidable point. Free-State settlements in its vicinity were uprooted.

This was the condition of Kansas when the Missourians were again troubled by rumors. Lane abandoned his campaign for Frémont and Kansas in the North, and hastened home to take the field against the border-ruffians. He came at the head of some six hundred emigrants, three hundred of whom were armed, some of them very poorly. He led them over the route afterwards called "Lane's Trail," and sometimes known as the "Iowa route." He arrived August 7th. He was disguised after reaching the Kansas line, and was known as "Joe Cook."

Major D. S. Hoyt was an estimable citizen of Lawrence who deplored the existing conditions, and who supposed that some arrangement might be concluded with Col. Treadwell, commander of Fort Saunders, whereby order would be restored in Douglas county. Against the protests of his friends he proceeded unarmed to the fort upon this mission. He was received with apparent cordiality and good feeling. Upon his return, two men were sent a short distance with him. Arriving at a wood near

the fort, they murdered him, mutilated his body with a corrosive substance, and partly buried it. This brutal and treacherous murder occurred only a day or two after Lane arrived in Lawrence, and before his presence was known to any except his most trusted friends. The Free-State men were exasperated. Their leaders determined to attack Franklin; this intention was kept secret from the citizens of Lawrence. On the evening of the 12th of August, eighty-one men commanded by Captain Joseph Cracklin left Lawrence to attack and if possible destroy the blockhouse at Franklin, and to gain possession of the cannon with which it was defended. This was undertaken by Lane's advice. He accompanied the attacking party, and as the column was nearing Franklin made himself known to his men, who, it is said, "seemed now to think everything would go right."

The attack was successful. The Free-State men drew a wagon loaded with hay to the blockhouse, and fired it. The Missourians fled, and the panic they were in can be inferred when it is known that they left their whisky, several barrels of which were found and destroyed by the attacking party. The cannon was secured and carried to Lawrence; as no ammunition for it was captured, the Free-State men took the type of the *Herald of Freedom* and cast it into balls for this piece of artillery.

On the 13th of August the Chicago company arrived in Topeka; it consisted of thirty men. Lane ordered it to report to the Free-State camp some three miles from Fort Saunders. They arrived at 2 o'clock the morning of the 14th. This increased the Free-State force to some four hundred men. During the day the body of Major Hoyt was found, and, gathered around it, the Free-State

men swore revenge. On the morning of the 15th Lane sent out scouts, and the men demanded to be led at once to the attack, which had been fixed for the following morning. The demand of the men was complied with, and at 2 o'clock in the afternoon they were led against the fort, which they found deserted. The ruffians had fled, leaving much plunder, and forty muskets. The fort was burned.

The Free-State men began the return march to Lawrence, but on their way were informed that the Missourians under Titus were raiding the Free-State settlers. Upon the receipt of this intelligence the force turned towards Lecompton. On the 16th the fortified house of Titus was bombarded with the cannon taken at Franklin. At every fire the Free-State men would call out, "There is a new edition of the *Herald of Freedom* for you!" The fort and its garrison were surrendered. The fort was burned, and the prisoners taken to Lawrence. The roar of the cannon was heard in Lecompton, and the Territorial officers hid themselves. Governor Shannon was found embarking on a scow to flee across the river.

The following day Governor Shannon appeared in Lawrence, and concluded a peace with the Free-State men. Prisoners were exchanged. This step angered the Missourians, who had lost their prey once before by a treaty of peace. They were resolved not to be foiled in like manner again. They took the matter into their own hands. The presence of Lane in the Territory became known to the Missourians at this time. August 16th their leaders issued a call which ran thus:

"TO THE PUBLIC: It has been our duty to keep correctly

and fully advised of the movements of the Abolitionists. We know that since Lane commenced his march the Abolitionists in the Territory have been engaged in stealing horses to mount his men, and in organizing and preparing immediately on their arrival to carry out their avowed purpose of expelling or exterminating every pro-slavery settler. We have seen them daily become more daring as Lane's party advanced. We have endeavored to prepare our friends to the end, which was foreseen, and which we now have to announce—LANE'S MEN HAVE ARRIVED!—CIVIL WAR HAS BEGUN!”

Lane's name was in the mouth of every Missourian, and a terror to their hearts. Missourians were appealed to and asked to reinforce their brethren in Kansas, as “*Lane was in the field!*” Clark, the murderer of Barber, fled, and reported that—

“An army of Lane's men have demolished Franklin; six to eight hundred strong, attacked Col. Titus near Leecompton. . . .

“They attacked the guard of the United States troops who had in charge Robinson and the other prisoners, who surrendered without firing a gun, and are now in the hands of Lane's men. It is impossible to state in a letter all the outrages committed by these marauders. We have had five expresses from different parts of the Territory since this morning, from Iowa Point to Leecompton. They are driving all the pro-slavery men out of Douglas county. . . . The fugitives are arriving every hour.

“We call upon our friends in Missouri, in the name of humanity, to come to the rescue, with men and provisions

to support them. We have determined to clean the Territory or fall in the attempt . . . To arms! at once, and come to the rescue."

The *Kansas Herald Extra* had these headlines. They show the panic and consternation caused by the presence of Lane and his army:

"War and Desolation!—Lecompton taken by Lane's Men!—Col. Titus's Company Held as Prisoners!—Sheriff Jones's House Threatened by the Outlaws!—Murder and Butchery!"

An account of the storming and taking of Titus's house, and the general devastation by Lane's men, closed as follows:

"Is there a heart in the breast of any Law-and-Order man in Kansas that will not respond to the following earnest and touching appeal. Let the cry be—To arms! To arms!!

"NEAR LECOMPTON, August 16, 1856.

"TO COL. PAYNE AND OTHERS, FRIENDS OF LAW AND ORDER: The Abolitionists have come on us this morning about daylight, whipped and taken prisoners our men. Lecompton is taken, and deserted by the women and children. These are Lane's men, about eight hundred strong. The United States troops are also whipped and beaten. Will you come to our rescue before we are all murdered? We are out of powder and lead and every kind of ammunition. Our friends are now stationed in Sheriff Jones's house, as many as can, and will fight to the last. Will you

help us? If so, come at once. Unless we get help we will all be murdered.

Yours,

L. J. HAMILTON.

“P. S.—Col. Titus and his men are all taken prisoners.”

Governor Shannon resigned and Secretary Woodson became Acting Governor August 21st. As it was known that he would aid in every way the Missourians in their work of exterminating the Free-State men, the ruffians determined to make the most of their opportunity. It was not known when Governor Shannon's successor would arrive, and it was hoped that the Free-State settlers could be destroyed or conquered before his presence could prevent so desirable a consummation. Their leaders issued a manifesto August 26th, setting forth reasons why this should be accomplished. The ruffians were urged to “Let the watchword be ‘extermination, total and complete.’” United States Senator Atchison and B. F. Stringfellow were at this time at Little Santa Fe, Mo., with a force of about one thousand men. These they organized under the name of “The Army of Law and Order in Kansas,” and Atchison was made commander of it. This army moved into the Territory on the 29th, and camped some fifteen miles from Osawatomic, to which town they sent a detachment of about three hundred and fifty men. The detachment arrived at the town on the morning of the 30th. The village was defended by John Brown with about thirty-five men; they were forced to retreat after a heroic defense. Brown's son and another man were killed, as were also some of the attacking party. The town was pillaged and burned.

A force of Free-State men of about three hundred, under the advice of Lane, marched against the camp of the invaders. Upon their approach the ruffians fled to Missouri, when their pickets had exchanged shots with the advance-guard of the Free-State men.

Having dispersed the army of Atchison and Stringfellow, the Free-State men marched against Lecompton in two columns, one on each bank of the Kansas river, commanded by Harvey on the north and Lane on the south bank. Lane was delayed, and did not arrive until Harvey had retired. But the demonstration was a success; it secured the release of the Free-State prisoners, and the disbandment of one division of the Missourians.

The ruffians met with more success in Atchison, Jefferson and Leavenworth counties. The Free-State men were in a minority, and they were unorganized. They could offer no effective resistance to the robbery and murder daily perpetrated against them. Governor Shannon reported that dead bodies could be seen along all the highways. Murder was so common that it ceased to cause comment—it was taken as a matter of course. Many refugees from these counties came to Lawrence for safety, and to seek for assistance to expel the Missourians and to regain their homes.

A meeting of the principal Free-State men was held in Lawrence, and it was determined to cross the river and drive out the border-ruffians prowling and murdering in Leavenworth and Jefferson counties. It was determined to march on the city of Leavenworth when the country was cleared. Lane, Harvey and John Brown attended the meeting, and the command of the column to march on

Leavenworth was tendered Brown. He declined it, as it would have been necessary for Colonel Harvey to take a subordinate place, which he did not believe would be satisfactory to Harvey's men. A successful campaign was begun. The chief command devolved upon Lane. At Slough creek Major Harvey surprised a number of the ruffians and captured almost all of them, with their arms and baggage. He was then ordered by Lane to march to Hickory Point and attack a band encamped in a blacksmith shop. The shop was fired with a load of burning hay, when a truce was declared, flags exchanged, and hostilities between them ceased. Lane heard of the arrival of Governor Geary, and ordered Colonel Harvey to return to Lawrence; but not receiving this order, he went to Oskaloosa, where he and his force were arrested on a charge of murder. Lane escaped from the Territory.

Lane had been in the Territory little more than a month; victory after victory rested with the Free-State men after his arrival. One of his friends afterwards wrote of this short campaign:

“ This short, brilliant, decisive and successful campaign was glorious in its inception; glorious in its execution, and most glorious in its results. On it the freedom of Kansas and the stability of our free institutions and the Republic itself was staked, and most nobly were they defended. . . . This was the last attempt on the part of the people of Missouri to make Kansas a slave State by force of arms. The only reliance now of the conspirators was on the administration at Washington and ‘ballot-box stuffing’ and other frauds in elections; and failing in that they attempted secession, which ended in the destruction of

slavery. . . . This campaign was the crowning glory of the Grim Chieftain's career, and placed him on the top of the temple of fame in Kansas."

It is our belief that his friend correctly weighed his deeds, and that the campaign begun in Chicago in May and ended in Kansas in September, 1856, liberated Kansas from the dominion of slavery and saved her to a nation made wholly free by the fires kindled against the foul institution on her own soil, made sacred by the blood of her noble sons.

DISAPPEARANCE OF THE BORDER-RUFFIANS.

At the close of the civil war that class of Missourians known as "border-ruffians" began to seek their favorite haunts—the extreme frontier of the Great West. Sheriff Jones went to New Mexico, and many of them followed him there. Very few of them remained in Missouri. With peace came the development of the farms and mines, the shops and railroads, the towns and cities of both States. Many Missourians settled in Kansas, and are staunch and patriotic Kansans. Many Kansas people live in Missouri, and where strife and bloodshed once were, streets and business blocks now are, and fraternity and prosperity prevail. The development of the two States is in the same direction, and Kansas City, Mo., is a Kansas town, built by Kansas enterprise, Kansas industries, and Kansas products. Harmony exists, and we are here, as everywhere in the Republic, a happy, united and patriotic people. The Missourian of the "border-ruffian days" is now known

only to history. These pages have had much to say of him. Kansas history cannot be recounted without relating his deeds of ruffianism. But in his stead has arisen a citizenship, patriotic, industrious, progressive. The Missouri of to-day is an Empire State of the Union.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S SECOND NOMINATION.

“I come not, friends, to steal away your hearts;
I am no orator, as Brutus is;
But as you know me all, a plain, blunt man,
That loves my friend; and that they know full well
That gave me public leave to speak of him:
For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
Action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech,
To stir men's blood: I only speak right on:
I tell you that which you yourselves do know.”

The Union League was a secret political organization. It was composed of Republicans, and was organized in the interests of the Republican party during the war of the Rebellion. Many of the most prominent members of the party belonged to it. It took secret action, and worked out its plans through the influence of its members in the party. For a year before the meeting of the convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President, many of the influential members of this League had been working secretly against the renomination of Mr. Lincoln. General Lane was a member of the League, and a delegate to the Grand Council of the order, which met on the night before the meeting of the National Convention. A very great number of the delegates to the convention were members of the League, and if that body had decided to oppose the nomination of Mr. Lincoln, he could not have been

made the candidate of the Republican party in 1864. The following account of the meeting of the Grand Council is taken from Speer's *Life of Lane*, page 279, and following. Mr. Speer was a delegate to the Grand Council:

"It was a terrible body in its malignity toward the President. Fortunately, I am saved the attempt to describe it. That eminent statesman and author, Hon. W. O. Stoddard, who was Lincoln's private secretary, and who wrote a 'Life of Lincoln,' 'Lives of the Presidents,' and many other works both in prose and poetry, has given its history most graphically, (see 'Story of a Nomination,' *North American Review*, 1884, Vol. 136, p. 263,) from which I quote:

"The Grand Council assembled at an early hour, and its doors were sternly closed to all but those with absolute right to enter. The Grand Council was a dignifiedly simple gathering. There were no press reporters present. No brass bands made music. No time was lost in preliminary or other organization, and no committees were required. The ample platform contained only three men—the Grand President and the Grand Recording and Corresponding Secretaries. There was all the more time for the transaction of business, and this began the moment the meeting was called to order. There had been both preparation and consultation among the intending assailants of the Administration. These arose to speak in rapid, but not conflicting succession, in different parts of the hall. Perhaps the severest attack upon the President and the conduct of the war was made by one of the United States Senators from Missouri; but there were others whom he

little surpassed in vehemence. The charges made were appalling, and it was well that their eloquent utterance was to form no part of the published proceedings of the Baltimore Convention. Had they been openly uttered in the convention, to go forth to the country, whether they were true or false, that body could afterward have reached no peaceful agreement by ballot, nor could it have adopted any platform of resolutions upon which it could have placed Abraham Lincoln before the people as a candidate for the Presidency. There were not many faults possible to the ruler of a free people whereof Mr. Lincoln was not accused, before the excited patriots made an end of their "speeches for the prosecution" of the public criminal whose course in office they were denouncing.

"Once more it seemed as if a rising tide were sweeping all before it. Not a voice had been raised in defense of Mr. Lincoln. This may have been, in part, from lack of opportunity. The Grand President, Judge Edmunds, was a devoted friend of Mr. Lincoln, and yet, as if with malice aforethought, he sat there behind his desk on the raised platform, calmly "recognizing," as presiding officer of the Grand Council, only the known enemies of his friend, until it seemed as if most of them must have been heard.

"There came a lull in the storm, and "Jim" Lane of Kansas arose, near the front, in the middle aisle of the hall. He was instantly recognized by the chairman; but he stood in silence for a moment, until he had deliberately turned around and looked all over the room. The substance of his remarks was nearly as follows:

"*Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Grand Council:* For a man to produce pain in another man by pressing upon a wounded spot requires no great degree of strength, and he who presses is not

entitled to any emotion of triumph at the agony expressed by the sufferer. Neither skill nor wisdom has been exercised in the barbaric process. For a man, an orator, to produce an effect upon sore and weary hearts, gangrened with many hurts, worn out with many sacrifices, sick with long delays, broken with bitter disappointments; so stirring them up, even to passion and to folly, demands no high degree of oratorical ability. It is an easy thing to do, as we have seen this evening. Almost anybody could do it.

“‘For a man to take such a crowd as this now is, so sore and sick at heart, and now so stung and aroused to passionate folly; now so infused with a delusive hope for the future, as well as with false and unjust thoughts concerning the past; for a man to address himself to such an assembly, and turn the tide of its passion and excitement in the opposite direction,—that were a task worthy of the highest, greatest effort of human oratory. I am no orator at all; but to precisely that task have I now set myself, with absolute certainty of success. All that is needful is that the truth should be set forth plainly, now that the false has done its worst.

“‘He had gained in a minute all that could be won in an audacity bordering upon arrogance. Rapid and vivid sketches followed, presenting in detail the leading features of the history of Mr. Lincoln’s Administration. Each was made complete in itself, and at the end of each chapter came some variation of this formula:

“‘I am speaking individually to each man here. Do you, sir, know in this broad land, and can you name to me, one man whom you could or would trust, before God, that he would have done better in this matter than Abraham Lincoln has done, and to whom you would be more willing to trust the unforeseen emergency or peril which is to come? That unforeseen peril, that perplexing emergency, that step in the dark, is right before us, and we are here to decide by whom it should be made for the Nation. Name your other man.

“‘Very little time was wasted upon the general list of charges; for they had spent themselves in making; but a masterly picture of Mr. Lincoln’s long-suffering, patience,

faithful toil, utter unselfishness, and of the great advances already gained under his leadership, was followed by a sudden transfer of the thoughts of all to the scene in the great wigwam on the morrow:

“ ‘We shall come together to be watched, in breathless listening, by all this country,—by all the civilized world; and if we shall seem to waver as to our set purpose, we destroy hope; and if we permit private feeling, as to-night, to break forth into discussion, we discuss defeat; and if we nominate any other man than Abraham Lincoln, we nominate ruin.

“ ‘Gentlemen of the Grand Council of the Union League, I am done.

“ ‘The Senator sat down, but no man rose to reply. His speech had not been a very long one, but it had been enough to accomplish all he proposed for it. The resolution approving the Administration was adopted with but few dissenting voices, many not voting. Another vote declared the voice of the Union League to be in favor of President Lincoln’s reelection, and the greatest political peril then threatening the United States had disappeared. Thirty days later, it would have been a hard task to find a man who would confess to having ever entertained a doubt as to that result; but then the delegates to the Grand Council were not in a position to make remarks or answer questions.’ ”

A WORD AT THE CLOSE.

“A great man owes as much to his defects as to his good qualities. The hardness and brutal abruptness which so intelligibly shock our friend M. Taine in Napoleon were part and parcel of his force. Had he been as well-bred, as polite and unassuming as we are, he would not have got on; he would have been as powerless as we are.”—*Renan*.

It was never the intention to make this paper a biography of General Lane. Many of his eminent services to Kansas and humanity must be passed over without so much as a mention. Some of these are the most prominent of his imperishable labors. He performed services sufficient to make his name immortal. Many of these we have not had space to notice at all. But writers have been unjust to him. It has been our desire to call attention to his part in the struggle in Kansas for liberty and freedom. His life might be divided into three periods:

First. That ending with his arrival in Kansas.

Second. That in Kansas, ending with his election to the Senate of the United States.

Third. That embracing his labors in the United States Senate, and the renomination of Abraham Lincoln.

His achievements in either period are sufficient to make him famous. Those of the second period make his name immortal.

It is not our purpose to convey the impression that General Lane had no faults. He had many. A great man

cannot be imitated in his genius; the faults of all are to be avoided. Cromwell ran his thumb along the edge of his sword while he prayed; he broke Irish heads and trampled on Irish rights; he was accused of many evils in his day. The faults of David are not concealed by the divine Word.

General Lane was a politician before he was a statesman. It may perhaps be said that he was always a politician; that he became a statesman. He desired a seat in the United States Senate. This was his object; his ambition in life. A man without a purpose accomplishes nothing. He was a man with a purpose—and a definite one. A seat in the United States Senate was always before his mind's eye. It was his pole-star. To reach this mark, this goal, in Kansas, was his every energy bent; and each and every resource of a mind, the equal of which in resource has not been seen since his day, was marshaled with an intensity we could but say was impossible had it not been witnessed and well attested. Circumstances which would have ruined another man turned to his advantage and were stepping-stones to his success. His perseverance and tenacity are illustrated by his trip to Leavenworth to raise the necessary five hundred dollars by which means he saved his newspaper at Lawrence from falling into the hands of his political enemies. Alone, poverty-stricken, afoot on the wind-swept prairies, struggling among snow-drifts, bent on a mission hopeless to any other mortal and well-nigh so to himself, this set purpose, this ambition, this high mark was his guiding star.

But it is of faults that we are speaking. His political methods were not always honorable or just. He was often

unscrupulous, but he did not resort to bribery. His word was often broken without cause. He neglected his friends upon many occasions. Some of the political methods he inaugurated still exist in the Kansas of to-day. He had no desire to accumulate money; he was never trustworthy in the matter of paying debts, and left many debts unsettled. In his early days in Kansas he *could* not pay. He was sometimes extremely bitter and unjust towards his political enemies; he carried his enmity to Dr. Robinson to excess, and deeply wronged him.

But his services to Kansas and to humanity far outweigh his faults were they multiplied a hundred fold. In the warfare of the border he was to Kansas what Francis Marion was to South Carolina in the war of the Revolution. Their methods of fighting were similar. He did much by the mystery of his movements, and his name carried terror and panic to his enemies as did that of the Revolutionary hero.

It may be set down as a truth almost beyond dispute, that most movements for reformation and advancement in human progress are first led by men, or women, supposed by their associates to be erratic and eccentric if not insane. The sunlight first lights up the craggy mountaintop. At some point in every age there stands a man who discerns the coming light while those in the valleys below are wrapped in darkness. He recognizes what they cannot see: that systems and institutions are worn out, have become fossilized and inflexible, insufficient and intolerable. It has been said that Christ's answer to the woman at the well was the most revolutionary utterance ever made in the history of the world; that it contains the principles of com-

plete liberty of both soul and body for all mankind for all time. Yet how slow is the growth of an idea! Almost two thousand years later it was necessary to kindle fires on the prairies of Kansas to burn away human slavery in America.

In a reformatory revolution such as the fathers of Kansas inaugurated, the prudent man, the conservative man,—I had almost said the just man,—cannot lead. He is hedged about with a scrupulous regard for conventionalities and obsolete ritualisms imposed upon his age by some advance in the upward growth of man in a long-gone preceding age. He does not discern that society is about to exercise its highest right, and readjust itself to the higher plane made necessary by the changed environment. He fortifies himself with Shakespeare's "modern instances." And the glory of the Anglo-Saxon people is that this is so. It has given them a genius for the establishment of stable governments possessed by no other people. It is, too, their higher glory that they have never failed at the proper hour to produce the man who discerned the coming change and rose to the occasion of its execution. Such men were Cromwell, and Washington, and Franklin, and Abraham Lincoln, and JAMES HENRY LANE.

SELECTED MISCELLANY.

“There was a Brutus once, that would have brook’d
The eternal devil to keep his state in Rome.”

THE TERROR OF HIS NAME IN MISSOURI.

The terror of his name in Missouri was really frightful and inconceivable. The writer had some business about that time over in Missouri, and stayed all night with a farmer, though not a slaveholder, not far north of Plattsburg. After supper he began conversation by asking the writer where he came from and where he was going. Very pointed questions under the circumstances, the writer thought, but after answering in a manner that he flattered himself the great Talleyrand would have envied, could he have heard it, the Missourian seemed satisfied, and continued the conversation in a very frank and friendly manner. Soon he remarked: “They are having great trouble over in Kansas.” This news appeared to be very astonishing, and the writer inquired where Kansas was, if it was in Missouri. “No,” said he, looking as though he pitied the writer’s knowledge of geography, “Kansas is the Territory west of Missouri. Congress gave it to the South for a slave State, but the abolitionists have gone there in great numbers to make it an abolition or free State. And as it could not be made a slave State while they were there, our

people went over to drive them out. I never went over, but I was afraid they would make me go. The abolitionists fought our men and drove them back. They have a General who was a Colonel in the Mexican war for a leader or commander. He is over eight feet high and well built in proportion, and when he was commanding in Mexico his voice could be heard all over the battle-field above the roaring of the cannon. Stranger, this is God's truth I'm telling you. He has his men armed with Yankee guns, called Sharps' rifles, that will shoot sixty times a minute and kill a man a mile away. Our people thought they could drive them out with cannons, but they have now got cannons over there, some Yankee invention, I suppose, that they load by putting the balls in a hopper, the same as a miller puts grain in a hopper, to grind—I can't describe it to you or tell you how it works. I do not think the abolitionists can be got out, and the South must lose Kansas."

Another night the writer was told that when the Chieftain took any of the Missourians as prisoners he made them dig their own graves, and then had them shot and buried them in the graves which they themselves had dug.—[The Grim Chieftain, p. 85.]

HOW HE ARMED HIS MEN.

On one occasion he made a call for men to drive out a company of Missourians, who were building a blockhouse and molesting and running off Free-State settlers from that neighborhood. Many men came without arms, expecting that he could in some way furnish them. Apparently taking no notice of the fact, he gave the command to fall

in and follow him. When they had marched some distance, Capt. Asaph Allen and some one else, supposing that it was an oversight that the men were not provided with arms, sought the Chieftain at the head of the column and asked: "What are the men going to do for arms?" Suddenly stopping and looking them sternly in the face as though he was perfectly surprised at their stupidity, replied: "Why, take them from the enemy," and marched on. When he came near to the camp of the enemy, he sent a Free-State man ahead, and instructed him to run into their camp and tell them he was coming with his whole army, and also to offer his service to them, and tell them he had served during the Mexican war as a gunner, and request to be put in charge of a cannon which the Chieftain knew they had. The Free-State man did as instructed, and took charge of the cannon without waiting to be formally installed as gunner, saying he was going to blow the abolitionists to pieces while they were coming up the road, and began giving orders to the men what they should do. Just then the Free-State men came in sight "on the double-quick." Everything in that camp was confusion worse than confounded. The cannon by some means went off prematurely, tearing the top of the blockhouse off, while the Missourians started "pell-mell, helter-skelter" for their lives, leaving most of their arms and all their camp equipments and baggage. When the arms were distributed to the Free-State men, the Chieftain walked up to Captain Allen, as cool and unconcerned as though nothing unexpected had occurred, and said: "Now, you see how it is done."—[The Grim Chieftain, p. 79.]

EXCERPTS FROM SMITH'S SKETCH OF "JIM LANE."

[Verres Nicholas Smith was a newspaper man in Kansas in the sixties. He was a Democrat. He was an elegant and accomplished writer, and was for a time associated with Hon. John Speer in a newspaper enterprise. He was a large and fine-looking man, and dressed like a dandy. He possessed a finished education, and his ideas were impracticable. He could never comprehend or understand Western life and manners. He was the butt of ribald jests of the crowds of "unwashed" in the frontier towns. He was a fine speaker, but his language was Greek to some of his audiences. Hon. George W. Martin, of Kansas City, Kansas, tells of an instance which illustrates this. Smith married Ida, the daughter of Horace Greeley.

Mr. Smith was politically opposed to General Lane, and did him injustice in telling only half the truth. He shows us but one side of his character—the side of the politician. But his sketch is one of the best to be found in the style in which it is written. It was published in Lippincott's Magazine, March, 1870, and signed "Jacob Stringfellow." A few extracts from his paper are given. Those in quotation-marks are quotations from General Lane's speeches.]

The late Senator Lane was the most finished actor I ever saw. He was a sporadic Frenchman of the eighteenth century, strangely out of time.

"They say Jim Lane is illiterate" (looking an exclamation-point with every sentence)—"that he is ignorant, and not fit for the United States Senate! Why, men of Kansas, his mother was a Connecticut schoolmarm and a

most devout Methodist, and from his youth up he was most carefully educated for the Christian ministry; but his modesty, his *insuperable*” (long drawn out) “modesty, kept him out of the pulpit!”

“They say Jim Lane is profane.” (The biographical was his chosen style.) “Great God! What! Jim Lane an irreligious man? Why, I never swore in my life! Yes, though” (in tragic bass), “once! once! It was at the head of my Indiana regiment in Mexico, at the battle of Buena Vista.” (He knew better than this.) “I looked to my front, and there were acres and acres of Mexicans” (taking off his coat); “to my rear, and there their cavalry were drawn up, their richly caparisoned steeds and their murderous spears glistening in the morning sun” (jerking off his cravat); “and to my right and left, and there were more acres and acres of Mexicans.” (Tragic bass again.) “Then, in the excitement of the moment, and forgetful” (accent on *for*)—“and forgetful of my religious principles, I exclaimed to my brave Indiana boys” (a shrill tenor), “‘Charge on ’em,’ (with a strong oath) ‘charge on ’em!’” (Tragic bass.) “*The only time I ever swore in my life!*”

What this magnetism was may be guessed when men of calm blood like the late George L. Stearns, on leaving him would say, “What a captivating man Senator Lane is! His tones are as sweet as a woman’s.” Flushed with triumph or confident of success, he was irresistible, his voice soft and musical and his manner confiding. His presence could be as distinctly felt as a register, and there

was companionship even in his silence. It will astonish some to whom his name was once an imprecation and a terror, to know that scholarly men and men of travel would pronounce him the most pleasing person they ever met, though there was not a common thought between them. If in the plenitude of his power he was surrounded by knaves and vagabonds, it was not only because power is warming and grateful, but the animal spirits of a successful man are themselves a charm.

Like that versatile Chelonian, the mud-turtle, . . . he contained within his shell the flavor of every creature dear to the palate of man—fish, flesh, or fowl. In the midst of Christians, he had been carefully educated for the Church; among scoffers, religion was but a cloak for hypocrisy. In Kansas he wore the fells of wild beasts; in Boston he appeared in black broadcloth and white cravat, and whined through his nose as religiously as the melodeon of a country parsonage. Among New-Englanders, his mother was a "Connecticut schoolmarm"; with Southerners he was a Kentuckian; among Western men, a Hoosier: and thus his real origin was as great a mystery as the source of the Nile.

"What!" said he, meeting on the roadside a member of a Bourbon county convention packed against him—"what! vote against Jim Lane, and come from Indiana!" in his most wheedling notes and a smile that fairly lifted the subject out of his boots. Enough. The fellow went into the convention next day and logrolled for Lane.

What Henry Clay was to the early Kentuckians was Lane to the pioneers of Kansas.

Still, neither friends nor enemies dreamed how formidable Lane was. That unconquerable embodied will walked one bitter day in the winter of 1860 from Lawrence to Leavenworth, thirty-five miles, with the snow full knee-deep, to look after the snares laid for the next Senatorial election. A printing-press was to be sold in Lawrence. Five hundred dollars must be had to snatch it from his foes. The errand was well-nigh hopeless. In Leavenworth the hospitality of the taverns, that opens to but golden keys, shut him out. Mine host of the Renick, who had been coaxed into forgiveness of more than one reckoning, was hardened to flint. Lane's friends had lost faith in his star. He reached Leavenworth at bedtime, and looking down, like a famished Russian wolf, upon the unconseious town, with its long rows of wooden houses, uniform as a marmot village, he saw but one that he felt would give him a decent welcome—the home of an old Republican from Maryland. There he slept, if his busy brain could know sleep. In the morning a last appeal was made to his adherents, the money raised, a buggy ruinous as his own fortunes procured, and he came down like Eneke's comet upon the enemy at Lawrence.

Such was the *personnel* of the foremost candidate from south of the Kaw at Topeka in 1861. Frederick Stanton and a dozen others were his competitors. For days preceding the election, Lane worked with the perseverance of the saints and the energy of despair. He waylaid the

vacillating Solons in the dark, decoyed them into the outskirts and bound them with appalling oaths. The hazel-brush that girded the town was rife with whispered caucuses. On the eve of the balloting, all night long, from room to room of the Capitol House he went, restless as the Wandering Jew, exhorting, cajoling, encouraging his wavering followers with the promises of future benefit, and teaching some other candidate his helpless dependence upon Jim Lane by a lesson in the objective method. Sitting over the fire, and taking the charred cottonwood poker meditatively in his hand, he would sketch a map of Kansas on the floor; then tearing bits of paper, designated by the names of the several candidates, would lay them upon it: "Here's Jim Lane, and Charley Robinson, and Fred Stanton, south of the Kaw (Winchell's out of the ring); and there's Parrott, and Ewing, and Pomeroy, north." Then, maneuvering his paper men to suit the particular case, he would demonstrate to a geographical certainty that the only hope of his eager listener lay in a steady adherence to Jim Lane and his fortunes.

He neither slept nor allowed the unhappy Legislature to sleep. Into the arms of one sturdy henchman, six feet high and hairy as a buffalo, he threw himself, declaring in his most mellifluous notes that when he ceased to remember him the mother would forget her babe. Exhausted by such emotional outbursts, he would rush into his own room and throw himself on the bed, from which feverish anxiety soon roused him. Toward midnight a fresh idea seized him. He convened in the parlor the bar-tenders, the waiters, scullions, cooks—the whole tavern's crew—and any stragglers who would listen to a final persuasive

effort. There, ranged against the wall, in the baleful light of a tallow candle, on their haunches they sat, like the Peruvian mummies in the Temple of the Sun, listening to the eloquence of desperation. He painted the future glory of Kansas under his fostering care, and poured his heaping cornucopia of promises at their feet, until the very shoeblack rolled the whites of his eyes in an ecstatic vision of empire.

One drowsy member from south of the Kaw had slunk into his room from the persecutions of Lane. Just before day, when poets say it is darkest, and the prosaic, who are never awake at that hour, sleep soundest, he felt the grim chieftain creep into his bed. Resistance was useless, and in that time and place, sacred to the counsels of Giant Despair and his amiable spouse, and the entertaining course of lectures by Mrs. Caudle, the half-conscious member pledged himself for the ten-thousandth time to stand firm.

Martin F. Conway, the member of Congress and candidate for re-election, was there. Conway was a timid man of genius, and had drunk æsthetic tea in Beacon street. Sorely pressed was he by the importunities of Lane. The ultimatum scared him. For Lane or against, he soliloquized, until, half-distracted, and mindful of Boscobel oak and Alfred's neatherd, he sought an evasive peace in the solitude of a neighboring hayloft. Lane's all-searching eyes found him out, and gathering half a score of Conway's retainers, he mounted the cockloft and burst upon his affrighted gaze as he lay dreaming in a bed of fodder. Without a moment's delay for the recovery of his sleeping faculties, Lane besought him to obey the wish

of his own friends and declare for Jim Lane. (These same friends had never taken a thought of that collateral issue.) The man of books struggled for a moment, but dragged up, so to speak, by the hair of his head, he gave, with one spasm of inward pain, an unequivocal pledge of support.

Lane's fortunes had crouched low for a mighty spring. His election was announced to him by a breathless clansman as he sat on a sofa in the Capitol House. He ran his fingers nervously through his hair, and the tears flowed freely.

How he redeemed his lavish promises to pay, let him tell:

"Of the fifty-six men in the Legislature who voted for Jim Lane, five-and-forty now wear shoulder-straps. Doesn't Jim Lane look out for his friends?"

Without the loss of time he hurried to the capital, with a rabble at his heels, simultaneously with the incoming President and a threatened attack by the enemy. The place was without defenders, except his own jayhawkers and a regiment of office-seekers commanded by Cassius M. Clay. These slept at night in the East Room of the White House, on arms borrowed from the arsenal. The prestige of first defending the President's sacred person was one secret of his boundless influence with Mr. Lincoln.*

In the fall of '61, just before the snuffing out of Frémont's great expedition into southwest Missouri, Lane

*Read Speer's *Life of Lane*, page 341.

made a blustering campaign into the same devoted region. . . . "Everything disloyal," said he, "from a Durham cow to a Shanghai chicken, must be cleaned out." Faithfully was this obeyed. Even the chaplain was seized with a pious zeal to complete his unfinished church from the spoils of ungodly altars. One day on the homeward march, the army, borne down with fatigue and plunder, was suddenly commanded to deflect. Upon inquiry being made as to the cause, Lane, pointing in solemn mirth to a spire that rose in the distance, said, "See that steeple yonder? If we go the chaplain will try to steal it, and we will never get home in the world."

The renomination of Mr. Lincoln at Baltimore was his work. . . . Lane was lord over the hearts of men, . . . and he quickly demolished those coalitions against the President built in the eclipse of that disastrous year.

SKETCH OF JAMES H. LANE BY MILTON W. REYNOLDS.

[I find this in one of my old scrap-books. It was written for the *Kansas City Times*, by "Kicking Bird." It seems to have been one of a series of papers on "Kansas Statesmen," by that writer, published in that newspaper. The precise date is unknown; but it was written sometime in 1885.]

Kansas will stamp upon the civilization of the age a hundred years of history before another parallel is produced to that weird, mysterious, and partially insane, partially inspired, and poetic character, James H. Lane. None other than himself can equal him. It is not strange that his birthplace should be questioned. It is in keeping with his wayward, fitful life of passion and strife, of storm and sunshine, of tempest and calm—a mysterious existence that now dwelt on the mountain-tops of expectation and the very summit of highest realization, and anon in the valley of despondency and gloom. Seven cities claimed the honor of Homer's birth.

Two States claim parentage for the child of genius and an unbalanced brain, Jim Lane. And what adds to the strangeness of this mythical character and fabulous birth-right is the fact that Lane was born of quite illustrious parentage. His father, Amos Lane, was a lawyer of considerably more than local celebrity, a cousin of the distinguished Joe Lane of Oregon, a man long in politics, Speaker of the

House of the first Indiana Legislature, and a member of Congress in Jackson's time. Brewerton, in his book, "The War in Kansas," published in 1856, says James H. Lane was born in Boone county, Kentucky, on June 22, 1822. Brewerton claims that he got the information from Lane himself. Lane was a smart lad, and was present on the interesting occasion of his birth, and wouldn't equivocate about a matter of this kind. Wilder's *Annals* corroborate this statement of Brewerton, though admitting that Lane often conveyed the impression, or allowed it to be conveyed, that he was born in Indiana. Hon. John Speer, who long edited Lane's home organ, and was one of his nearest friends, in a biographical sketch written in 1878, says Lane was born at Lawrenceburg, Indiana, June 22, 1814. Holloway's *History of Kansas* says: "General James H. Lane was born June 22, 1814, on the banks of the Ohio, in Boone county, Kentucky."

Lane came of good stock; if not from the blue blood of the bluegrass region where statesmen and fine horses are grown, he must at least have been born not far from such surroundings and inspirations. His father, as already stated, was a lawyer and politician of note, Speaker of the Indiana House of Representatives, and member of Congress in Jackson's time; and his mother was a woman of rare accomplishments and very strong intellectual attainments, with the highest moral and emotional sensibilities. There have been a considerable number of public men, even great men, born of fool fathers. I don't think a great man ever lived who was not born of a strong, naturally intellectual, poetic, and emotional mother. A woman does not have to be educated or bookish to be intellectual. The in-

spired Joan d'Arc was a poor peasant girl. Yet so inspired was she that she could control dynasties, lead armies and mould masses of men by the power of her enthusiastic and magnetic will. What a grand crop of statesmen, Cæsars, Alexanders and Napoleons Joan d'Arc could have raised! Some such woman was the mother of Lane.

Jim Lane, up to and for some months subsequent to his arrival in Kansas, had been a Democrat of the straitest sect—an Indiana Democrat. He was learned in the school of Jackson, and had been taught the teachings of Jefferson and the fathers and founders of Democracy. He supported Douglas's Kansas-and-Nebraska bill in Congress with all the vigor, ability and enthusiasm of his ardent and impassioned nature. Mythical stories are told of Douglas sending him out to Kansas to organize the Democratic party upon a national platform with Douglas as the central figure, and the occupancy of the White House by the great Illinoisan as both the primary and ultimate object, and Lane his spokesman and the leader in the Senate from the young State of Kansas of the reconstructed, materialized, victorious and invincible Democracy. These stories can for the most part be classed as myths, fictions, and vain imaginings of those who would further mystify the character and thus elevate in some quarters an estimation of this strange being. There is this to be said in this connection: had this been Lane's mission and his destiny had been rounded and filled in this manner, the position of Kansas in the van of civilization would not have been essentially different from what it now is, and the condition of the country itself would not have been radically different from what it now is, as

most philanthropists and philosophers would suppose. It was the destiny of this country to be either all slave or all free. The two forces were irreconcilable, the conflict irrepressible. Slavery would have been extinguished under the Douglas plan of popular sovereignty, but not so rapidly as under the radical war plan. Shut out from the Territories, the new States hostile and ineradicably opposed to the institution, it would have been segregated, cribbed and confined to the sterile lands of the Southeast and the few rich remaining lands soon to be wasted and worn out in the Southwest, and would have died a slow, lingering, but certain death. The teachings of the fathers, the civilization of the age, modern Christianity, were against it, and against such forces hell, earth and sky cannot contend successfully.

But Lane could not wait for such slow processes. Fruit grown only in hothouses could satisfy his quickened tastes. He came to Kansas in April, 1855. He remained quiet but three short months. He kept his dexter finger carefully, cautiously but continuously upon the public pulse. He studied at least the surface of politics most diligently. He presided at a Democratic Territorial convention in July, 1855, called to nationalize the party, thus giving coloring to the imaginations of those who had pictured Lane as the vice-regent of Douglas, initiating a plan for the capture of Kansas and the whole country under Democratic methods and auspices. The movement met with an early and flat failure. It was ridiculed by the Democratic organs in the country, and Lane saw at once the futility of fighting for fame and the rewards of destiny on that line. The criticisms of old party associates irri-

tated him. He sought new alliances. He electrified a Free-State audience in Lawrence by announcing that he would speak the next evening on the political issues of the day, championing the Free-State cause. The crowd was immense. They came from their cabins on the prairies (now palaces), from the valleys and the hills. They wanted to know from his own mouth the "Grim Chieftain's" position on political questions. The hour came and the people to hear. Lane was in his best mood. He was prepared for a vituperative, sarcastic, ironical and intensely personal speech. Such the crowd usually likes, or used to in the early days, when men were walking arsenals and crept over volcanoes. Such an analysis of character was never heard before or since in Kansas. It was equal to John Randolph's best effort in that line. His late Democratic associates were denounced, burlesqued, ridiculed and pilloried in a hysteria of laughter by an excited, cyclonic crowd. No one ever afterward doubted where Lane stood. He crossed with a leap the Rubicon of radical politics and burned all his bridges behind him. He was not baptized,—he was immersed in the foaming floods of radicalism. As the whitecaps rose higher on the stormy and tumultuous political sea, Lane contended the stronger and baffled them. Robinson, the safe and conservative leader, slowly but gradually faded from public view, and finally was distanced and downed by this erratic son of destiny,—but not until the victories were won and all had been achieved that was meant by the Kansas idea, at least so far as Kansas was concerned; and in the great future it matters little whether Cæsar has his party, and Anthony has his party, and Pomeroy has his

party, if so be the *Commonwealth* has a party. Lane's services for the Free-State cause are imperishable. They cannot be overestimated by his nearest partisans and friends. Prof. Spring, in his book on "Kansas," in the Commonwealth Series, belittles Lane and does him rank injustice. He came to Kansas fifteen years or more after Lane was the great leader, after he and Robinson had done so much for the Free-State cause. He does well to exalt Robinson, but the attempt to belittle Lane, to disparage his services and underestimate his talents, is rank injustice and manifestly absurd. The mere statement of Prof. Spring's attempt to prove Lane a coward by quoting Quantrell as authority, is a sufficient refutation of all that the Professor says and wants to say of Lane's work in Kansas. He was erratic, eccentric, at times extravagant and unreliable in statement, but his personal courage is as well established as any other fact in Kansas history.

Kansas being admitted a free State, Lane at once went for what he came for—a United States Senatorship. He was poor. He had nothing but promises to offer. He could not pay his board bill at Topeka during his Senatorial canvass. He was owing his butcher at Lawrence. Just at that time he had no visible means of meeting current family expenses on the smallest scale. But his magnetism rarely failed him. He never failed with a crowd. He was as personally magnetic and successful with a budding statesman in the Legislature as Douglas or Blaine or Henry Clay. He was elected. The consummation of his life's work and ambition was realized. He was United States Senator. He drew the short term, ending in 1865. In the Senate he soon acquired a prom-

inence and distinction. General Lane, United States Senator-elect from Kansas, was not an inconspicuous figure in the country in those exciting days of 1861. He got such a mastery over Mr. Lincoln, and such influence with Stanton in spite of his cold-blooded and tyrannical disposition, that he fairly usurped the rightful power of the State's Executive in military matters. He organized regiments, among them Governor Crawford's First Kansas Colored, and had almost unlimited political influence with Kansas soldiers. It was an easy matter to throw the soldier vote for Governor to the gallant Colonel of the First Kansas Colored, Samuel A. Crawford. Lane was as radical as Zach. Chandler, but more practical in proposing definite plans and purposes to secure direct and desired ends. The utilization of the colored brother to stop the bullets of the enemy was a Lane idea. The emancipation plan generated in the fecund and fertile brain of Lane long before Mr. Lincoln formulated his proclamation of combined threat and promise in this direction to the end that the Union might be preserved and peace restored. A year before Mr. Lincoln by steady and gradual processes came to the proclamation of freedom as a war necessity, Jim Lane had thundered from Missouri's principal southwestern city, Springfield, these words:

“Let us all be bold; inscribe ‘Freedom to all’ upon our banners, and appear just what we are—the opponents to slavery. It is certain as if written in the book of fate, that this point must be reached before the war is over. Take the stand and enthusiasm will be inspired in the ranks. In steadiness of purpose and courage each soldier will be a

Spartan hero. The spirit of the Crusader will be united with the iron will of the Roman, and an army of such soldiers is invincible."

Lane's efforts in the Senate were not confined to a discussion of war themes. He turned frequently to industrial affairs that should build up his State and add to his own depleted finances. He had eaten of the bitter bread of poverty. When upbraided for a declared purpose to appoint a man to office who was denouncing him, he replied: "Well, he has a right to. He favored me when I was in adversity and was so poor that I couldn't buy a loaf of bread, and I have neglected him in his poverty." He made many similar appointments,—proofs of the highest eccentricity, most politicians would say. He paid his debts when he could remember them, but was almost as forgetful of money matters as Daniel Webster. Walking the streets of St. Louis arm-in-arm with General Halderman, shortly after his election—he never hugged men, but frequently "clutched" them and brought them near to his heart—he said: "Were I General Halderman and you Senator Lane of Kansas, I would not see my Senator walk the streets in those slovenly shoes." The first boot-and-shoe store reached, the Senator wore a \$20 pair of boots. When I came to Lawrence Lane was owing my brother, among other things, some choice lots. He could never think to make out the deeds. Upon my arrival my brother said to him: "Lane, my brother has come out here, a young newspaper man, from Detroit. I think it would be good policy for you to make out a deed to at least 100 feet front of your best lots to him before the sun goes down,

and I'll credit the same to our lot trade." "Certainly," replied Lane; "it will afford me the supremest pleasure." He came around in his carriage, the lots were selected, and the house I then built I now live in. The ground was a part of the famous quarter-section that Lane pre-empted, but a short distance from the well where he killed Gaius Jenkins, the land being a claim contest between Lane and Jenkins. Public sentiment at the time was divided. Lane was acquitted before a local court, and obtained the land. Both were occupying the quarter-section peaceably. Jenkins was warned not to come to Lane's well. He should have stayed away. It was a piece of foolhardy recklessness, and he suffered the consequence.

The railroad question Lane devoted much attention to. It is doubtful whether Kansas would have gotten the Pacific Railroad at all but for him; and it is certain that he was the chief instrumentality in booming the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston road, now the Kansas Southern. Lawrence, it is very certain, but for Lane, would not have gotten the Kansas Pacific road. He forced Hallet under threats and coercion to bring the road, and spurned and defied their attempts to blackmail the county out of \$300,000 to come there.

LANE'S SUICIDE.

On this subject Mr. Blaine in his second volume uses the following language:

"The defection of Senator Lane of Kansas from the ranks of the most radical Republicanism caused great surprise to the country. He had been so closely identified with all the tragic events in the prolonged trouble to keep

slavery out of Kansas, that he was considered to be an irreconcilable foe to the party that tolerated or in any way apologized for its existence. The position he had taken in voting against the Civil Rights bill worried and fretted him. He keenly felt his separation from the sympathy of such men as Sumner, Chandler, Wade, and the whole host who had nobly fought the battle of Kansas in the halls of Congress. He felt still more keenly the general and somewhat indignant disapproval of his action freely expressed by the great mass of his constituents. One of his intimate friends said that on the very day of his vote he received a telegram warning him that if he voted against the bill it would be the mistake of his life. The telegram reached him after the roll had been called. He said excitedly: "The mistake has been made. I would give all I possess if it were undone." He was still further disturbed by imputations upon his integrity in connection with some transactions with the Indian Bureau; imputations which were pronounced baseless by the two Senators from Indiana—Thomas A. Hendricks and Henry S. Lane, one a political opponent and the other a political friend, who had impartially examined all the facts. But under the mortification caused by parting with old political associates and the humiliation to which he was subjected by groundless imputations upon his character, his mind gave way, and on July 11, 1866, he committed suicide."

The above is a fair but friendly presentation of the facts. It was on July 1, 1866, that General Lane shot himself, at the Government farm at Fort Leavenworth. He was stopping with his brother-in-law, Captain McCall. On that morning, in company with Captain McCall and

Colonel Adams, he rode out, and coming to one of the gates of the farm, he jumped out, apparently to open the gate, and putting a pistol to his mouth, fired, saying, "Good-bye, gentlemen." He had for several days shown unmistakable signs of mental aberration. The immediate cause of this was undoubtedly the intense political excitement of the time, and overwork. It was not remorse at voting to sustain Johnson. Trumbull and Fessenden and Grimes were doing the same thing. It was an open question whether Mr. Lincoln's policy would not have been identical with that of Mr. Johnson, but his methods of securing its adoption would of course have been different. Lane was bitterly piqued by the reception given him when he came home. Hon. Sidney Clarke, a political child of Lane, had quarreled with his master. He was a rising young statesman of great promise. It was natural, living in the same town, to see in the downfall of Lane the uprising of another political star. Clarke, upon his return from Washington, was received with banners and the band. Music welcomed him, and the plaudits of the people indicated that he had struck a strong popular chord. Lane, "the Grim Chieftain," came back to the scene of his former triumphs and victories and was received with cold and clammy indifference. No music welcomed him. Fawning sycophancy uttered not a word of praise. No crowds escorted him to his home. Old friends rather avoided him. They spoke hurriedly, and hastened on to their business. A sensitive soul would naturally shrink from such treatment. It consumed the very vitals of Lane, and chilled his heart's blood. It set his brain on fire. A naturally unequally poised intellect trembled in the

balance. It was unfortunate; it was foolish for a man who knew so well the varying moods of the fickle populace to be thus moved. But the eccentricities of great men it is as difficult to account for as the loves of woman. Thus Lane fell, and it was as if Lucifer, child of the morning, had fallen.

“ If thou beest he ; but O how fall’n ! how changed
From him, who, in the happy realms of light
Clothed with transcendent brightness, didst outshine
Myriads, though bright ! ”

So much of personal history and characteristics of the Sunflower statesman have been woven in this sketch, that little remains to be said on this score. He has been now twenty years dead next July, and his memory is as fresh in the minds of Kansans as ever. Indeed, there was so much of mystery about him; he was so individualized, unique, and peculiar, that curiosity will rather increase than diminish as the years come and go, to know more of the character of Lane. Born of good parentage, he might have been educated, but men he always preferred to study rather than books; so that his education was limited, and his reading miscellaneous, general and superficial. He had an ideal and poetic nature, and his imagination did for him splendid service. He was a gallant soldier in the Mexican War, and in the late war if he had seriously entered upon military duty as a fact of science, he might have achieved the highest distinction. He had a stronger personal party than any man in Kansas ever had. Indeed, politics were divided on the issue of Lane and anti-Lane.

Lane had two sons, James H. jr. and Thomas, and two daughters, Ella and Anna, the former the wife of Col.

Adams and the latter Mrs. A. D. Johnson, of Kansas City. Mrs. Adams is dead. The girls were highly accomplished and refined. The boys will never equal their distinguished father. Mrs. Lane died about three years ago. She was a very remarkable woman as well as a very accomplished lady. She was a born politician. They were divorced and remarried. Poverty the most abject, the highest summit of personal distinction; misery complete, happiness supreme, this noble woman saw and witnessed; and shared in the varied fortunes of her wayward, eccentric, but in many respects *truly great husband*—THE IDEAL KANSAN—JAMES H. LANE.

KICKING BIRD.

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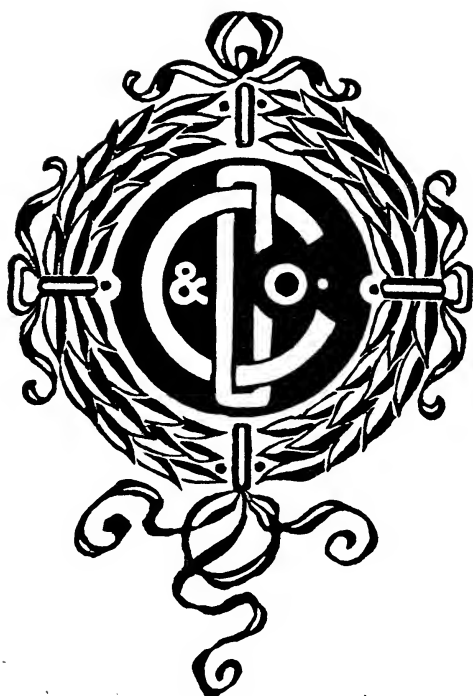
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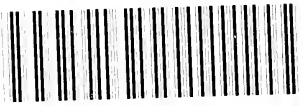
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